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University of California.

FROM THE LIBRARY OF

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1873.



S. HIPPOLYTUS

Episcopus Portus Urbis Romae.

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1912



HIPPOLYTUS AND HIS AGE ;

OR,

THE DOCTRINE AND PRACTICE OF THE CHURCH OF ROME

UNDER COMMODUS AND ALEXANDER SEVERUS :

AND

ANCIENT AND MODERN CHRISTIANITY AND DIVINITY COMPARED.

BY CHRISTIAN CHARLES JOSIAS BUNSEN,
D.C.L.

IN FOUR VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

The Critical Inquiry :

IN FIVE LETTERS TO ARCHDEACON HARE.

WITH THE EFFIGY OF HIPPOLYTUS.

LONDON :

LONGMAN, BROWN, GREEN, AND LONGMANS.

1852.

BR165
B15
v1

LONDON:
SPOTTISWOODES and SHAW,
New-street-Square.

PREFACE.

THE book which I venture to present to the Public, has grown out of letters written to an English friend, on a subject of common interest: and I must plead this circumstance as my apology for undertaking a task so hazardous as the composition of a work in English must always be for a foreigner.

The subject itself requires no apology, nor does it need any recommendation, in the eyes of a Public much alive to whatever is connected with Christianity. A few words only of introduction, on the history, purport, and bearing of the patristic relic which is the immediate object of this inquiry may be desirable in this place.

Some months ago a curious problem was presented to the Christian world, by the publication of an important work, long lost, treating on the primitive doctrinal history of the Church.* The book is evi-

* *Ὀριγένους Φιλοσοφούμενα ἢ κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἔλεγχος.*
"Origenis Philosophumena sive omnium hæresium refutatio.
E codice Parisino nunc primum ed. Emmanuel Miller." Oxonii
e Typographeo Academico, 1851.

The title which I propose is this:

Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰππολύτου Ἐπισκόπου καὶ Μάρτυρος Κατὰ πασῶν αἱ-

dently authentic, and was written under Alexander Severus, or about the year 225 of our era. I believe it can be proved, by unanswerable arguments, that its author is not Origen, but an illustrious and influential member of the Church of Rome itself, in short, no less a personage than St. Hippolytus. This circumstance does not diminish, but enhances, the value of this recovered relic of antiquity. For Hippolytus, as a disciple of Irenæus, and being about twenty years older than Origen, must have enjoyed, on many important points, still more than he, the living tradition of the Apostolic age: his name and character are not involved in any reproach or suspicion of heresy, as those of the great Alexandrian doctor unfortunately are: and further, as a member of the Roman presbytery, he could speak with the highest authority on the affairs of the Church of Rome. Through his master Irenæus, the Apostle of the Gauls, and disciple of Polycarp of Ephesus who had caught the words of the Apostle of Love from St. John's own lips, Hippolytus received the traditions and doctrine of the Apostolic age from an unsuspected source, while, as a Roman, he recollects, and describes from his personal knowledge, the secret history of the Church of Rome under Commodus. In his riper years, he had witnessed successively the important administration of

*ρίσεων ἑλεγχος: τῶν δέκα βιβλίων τὰ σωζόμενα. Sancti Hippolyti
Episcopi et Martyris Omnium Hæresium Refutatio: Libro-
rum decem quæ supersunt.*

two Roman bishops : the one, Zephyrinus, who succeeded Victor, cotemporary of Irenæus ; the other, Callistus, who occupied the see of Rome during a great crisis of that Church in doctrine and discipline, and whose life and character are here for the first time disclosed.

The book gives authentic information on the earliest history of Christianity, and precisely on those most important points of which hitherto we have known very little authentically. It contains extracts from at least fifteen lost works of the Gnostic, Ebionitic, and mixed heretical schools and parties of the earliest times of Christianity. These extracts begin with the account of heresies which existed in the age of St. Peter and St. Paul, and consequently preceded the Gospel of St. John. They go down, in an uninterrupted line, to the first quarter of the third century. We have here, amongst others, quotations from the Gospel of St. John by Basilides, who flourished in the beginning of the reign of Hadrian, or about the year 117 ; furnishing a conclusive answer to the unfortunate hypothesis of Strauss, and the whole school of Tübingen, that the fourth Gospel was written about the year 165 or 170. Many other points of almost equal importance are settled for ever by these extracts, at least for the critical historian.

The conclusion of the work is not less interesting and important. It contains the solemn confession of faith of the learned and pious author himself, who

represents the doctrine of the Catholic Church, exactly one hundred years before the Council of Nice, in the very age of transition from the Apostolic consciousness to the Ecclesiastical system.

The five letters to Archdeacon Hare apply the principles of historical criticism to the questions of the authenticity, the authorship, and the contents of the book, and form the First Volume of the present work.

The Second Volume treats of a higher subject—the philosophical history of the Christian Church. I have condensed the matter into aphorisms and fragments, which, I trust, include the most essential points. The Restoration of the Creed, the Liturgy, the Doctrine and the Constitution of the Ante-Nicene Church, forms the Third Volume.

Neander was the first to give us a history of the Church as the history of the Christian religion, and not simply as that of the ecclesiastical system; of Christian life, and not of doctrine only; of Christian thought, and not merely of scholastic formularies. But he has not given us a philosophical history in the highest sense; nor have his followers or his antagonists. A philosophical history of Christianity must rest upon a double basis: a critical history of the life of Christ, and a general system of the philosophy of religion. The first has been attempted by Strauss, but has confessedly failed: not only because he gives up the problem itself, but also because both the

origin of the evangelical accounts and the primitive history of Christianity would be more inexplicable, if we were to adopt the hypothesis of Strauss, than any one could have thought they were before. The other, a general system of the philosophy of religion, has not hitherto been even attempted. Yet this latter is as necessary as the first. The Christian must know as a fact of real history, illustrated by real philosophy, what Jesus of Nazareth thought both of himself and of his personal divine mission, and what was the extent of that holy work for which he lived and died, but which he left as a progressive act of the divine regeneration of mankind, to be carried out by the Spirit of God among his believers. Nobody can philosophically appreciate what has been done in these eighteen hundred years for the realization of this divine idea, unless he is able to measure it by the standard placed by Christ himself before his followers. But the faithful and thinking Christian, in the second place, must not be ignorant of the laws and principles according to which a religious idea, as such, develops itself in history. He knows, as a believer, that his religion is the true one; but he will not lose sight of the important circumstance, that the elements which act in true religion are not exempt from the general principles of evolution inherent in the nature of those elements. The antagonisms contained in them are capable of receiving their solution; the defects

growing out of the natural development may be corrected; but the history of the Christian religion shows, that neither its rites, nor its records, nor its forms of government, are exempted from general laws, as to their origin, to their interpretation and application, and to their progress and decay. This is no longer a question of theory or of probability, but a matter of fact and of history. Nearly two thousand years of evolution are before us: we are fully able to go through the accounts: if any priest, or any body of priests or doctors, pretend to infallibility or the exclusive right of judging, we shall not lose our time in disputing their authority, but point to the sum total, and to all the great items which through these eighteen hundred years cry out against such unholy pretensions. Any flaw in the account proves the pretender to infallibility to be mistaken, and sets him down, if he continue to claim that authority, as a tyrant or an impostor, or both. The divine nature of Christianity does not make itself good by the absence of those agencies which ordinarily contribute to the development of human institutions; indeed, if it did, Christ and Christianity would not be an object of history, but a fable: it proves itself by the renovating power of the Spirit in the living conscience of the believers. It is the unity of the working of this Spirit which in the whole course of development forms the real, the only true, unity and uninterrupted continuity of the Church. Neg-

lect this, and you have to choose between superstition and infidelity; and in either case you give up religion.

I have, therefore, thought it right to begin the Second Volume by such philosophical aphorisms on the general principles of the history of religion, and on the leading features in the history of Christianity, as bear directly upon the subject. I then have discussed the principal historical points of the life of the ancient Church, in the hope of making the knowledge of Hippolytus and of his age practically useful for the understanding both of primitive Christianity and of our own time. Instead of examining Hippolytus and his age by any later standard, and instead of reducing the inquiry to the absurd question: Was Hippolytus a Roman Catholic, or a Protestant? I have endeavoured to bring the reader into the very heart of the life and consciousness of the ancient Church, and, if I am not strangely mistaken, by this very process also to the centre of the real controversies of our own age. What is the authority of Scripture? What is Apostolic Tradition? What are the Church and her Sacrifice? What were the idea and practice of the ancient Church respecting the Sacraments? What, finally, is the origin of our Canon Law? We have now materials enough to answer these questions in such a way as not to ground our conviction upon this or that passage, which may be controverted, but upon the undeniable existence of a general con-

sciousness of the ancient Church. Take away ignorance, misunderstandings, and forgeries, and the naked truth remains: not a spectre, thank God! carefully to be veiled, but an image of divine beauty, radiant with eternal truth. Break down the bars which separate us from the communion of the primitive Church,—I mean, free yourself from the letter of later formularies, canons, and conventional abstractions,—and you move unshackled in the open ocean of faith; you hold fellowship with the spirits of all the heroes of Christian antiquity, and you are able to trace the stream of unity as it rolls uninterruptedly through eighteen centuries, in spite of rocks and quicksands.

For all these questions Hippolytus and his works are of primary importance: indeed a book of his, the genuine text of which unfortunately is lost, gives us, through the extracts and fragments we possess, the key to the origin of the so called Apostolical Constitutions and Canons, and enables us, more than anything else, to restore the whole of the Law of the ancient Church.

After having established that the real Apostolic Tradition exists, and that it is neither a secret, nor identical with what is now appealed to as Tradition, but the very contrary of it, I have examined its three branches. These are: first, the tradition about the Number and the Authors of the canonical books of the New Testament, according to the ancient Church;

then the tradition on Liturgical theory and practice, in particular on the Christian Sacrifice and the Eucharist; lastly, the tradition about the Ecclesiastical law and custom. For all these three points the age of Hippolytus is of decisive importance; and he himself, as well as his great master, a leading witness.

The aphorisms and fragments which I give on these subjects are partly new, partly of older date. The introductory general aphorisms are based, as to the system of a philosophy of the history of mankind, upon a German Essay composed by me in January 1816, as the result of my studies and meditations on this subject; and upon an Introduction to the Philosophy of Universal History, written last year; neither of which has yet been published. The aphorisms on the origin and the epochs of the Christian sacrifice were written in December 1822, and early in 1823, as the summing up and conclusion of a series of researches made on this sacred subject from 1817 to 1822. The extract from a letter dated Christmas 1829, addressed to a late friend, Dr. Frederic Nott, prebendary of Winchester, on the nature of the Christian sacrifice, has been known for many years to several of my English friends by manuscript copies, and was to have been published by Dr. Arnold as an appendix to a new volume of sermons, which his premature death unhappily prevented him from compiling. I give these Essays exactly as they were written at the time:

not only because they are documentary evidence for the consistency and continuity of my views on all those points, but also because I believe they have not become stale by having been kept back something like twice nine years.

In the Third Volume I have given, first, the texts of the Creed, Liturgy, and Ordinances; in short, the Book of Common Prayer of the third century, and its Ecclesiastical Code: both with the necessary explanations. I feel myself entirely incompetent to exhibit a complete picture of the age. I can understand that age only as one scene in a great drama, which begins with the first Christian Pentecost, and the first act of which closes with the death of Origen. This drama is a fragment, and it rests upon the divine centre of humanity, the life of Jesus of Nazareth. I shall admire the courage of him who will undertake now to give such a historical and philosophical picture of Hippolytus and his age; but I do not aspire to the honour of attempting it.

Still, all antiquarian researches ought to terminate in history or poetry; and all past ages ought to be made true mirrors for ourselves; particularly in matters which have a lasting interest for us and for all mankind. I consider him a coward, or an unthinking being, who does not ask himself two questions in a case like this, where the subject is one of absorbing interest. These questions are: What should we say of that age of Christianity, if

we saw it with our eyes? and what would Hippolytus say of our own age, if it should be brought before his vision?

No answer to such questions can be given without some degree of fiction. Most of the speeches in the ancient historians are fictions even as to their contents, all as to the form. The necessity of this lies in the very nature of the problem. You want to give to your reader the picture of an age by the words of one of its historical persons. But that man, when he really spoke, spoke to his age. He did not say what everybody then knew: and that is exactly what you want to tell. The same applies with still greater force to his writings, if he were an author. Distant ages are, even to very learned men, a sealed book, until those two questions be asked.

These considerations must form the excuse for what I have felt myself compelled to attempt. I have written, as the last part of this Philosophical Inquiry, an imaginary Apology of Hippolytus. It rests upon the fiction, that he was come to England in order to complain of the authorship of the lately discovered book having been taken from him, and that he claims to be recognized as what he really was, bishop of the Harbour of Rome, and member of the governing presbytery of the metropolis; and, above all, as a thinking Christian and an orthodox divine, in an age which had still uncorrupted traditions, and whose heroes and innumerable martyrs

lived and died for Christianity. I suppose Hippolytus to make this defence of himself before a distinguished English assembly, after some months of interviews and theological discussions with learned divines. In carrying out this fiction, I have endeavoured to follow, as closely as possible, the form of the Platonic Apology of Socrates, and humbly to imitate that mixture of irony and ethical earnestness which is inseparable from the name of Socrates. I know full well that Hippolytus was not Socrates, and still less do I pretend to be his Plato. But I have attempted to give something of his character as a thinker and as an author. As such he exhibits, predominantly, a Roman oratorical style of the declining age, and betrays perhaps, here and there, a senile prolixity; but there is in him a true element of dialectical reasoning, which shows the Greek blood in his veins. I have endeavoured to represent the Roman element in the introductory part of my Apology, and the Greek in the rest. The form of the composition is that of a vision: its practical purpose is to be a mirror to our own age.

Respecting the execution of this attempt, I must, of course, claim the highest degree of indulgence as to the form; but no just and intelligent critic will have to blame me for the want of a conscientious wish to be historically true and perfectly impartial. I feel sure, I am still less liable to the reproach of having treated intricate and sacred questions with

levity, or of having intended to mix myself up with national and personal questions, and with the controversies of the day in this country. Nothing is further from my mind and from my position. I felt myself compelled to bear on this occasion testimony to what I am convinced is the truth: let it be read and judged as such. Neither can it be said with justice that I have endeavoured to insinuate my own religious convictions, or philosophical opinions, under the cover of Hippolytus. What I think and believe personally on the subjects here treated, I have stated with Christian frankness, partly in my "Constitution of the Church of the Future," and in my "Epistles on Ignatius," and partly in the Aphorisms and Fragments which precede the Apology. Some further elucidations of several difficult points in the history of the second century, to which I have alluded in this book, will appear next year, in one German volume. If God grant health and leisure, a "Synoptical text of the Four Gospels," and a "Critical Reconstruction of the chronological order of the Evangelical Accounts," (both ready for the press,) will be followed by a "Life of Jesus." This is the work which for twenty years I have considered as the final object of my thoughts and researches, if I should be found worthy to realize the idea which I have conceived of this sublime problem. But, as author of the Apology, I am only responsible for letting Hippolytus speak according to his known

opinions and principles, as to his own time; and in character, although with a poetical license, as to ours.

I have honestly endeavoured to do both: it is not for me to judge how far I may have succeeded. What, however, I confidently hope to have established by holding up such a mirror to this age is, the wholesome truth that the age of Hippolytus was not shackled by those conventionalities and prejudices, and not burdened with those ordinances of man preposterously canonized and intended to be made into civil law; shackles which at present impede the march of Christianity, not only in the Roman and Greek Churches, but also among the Evangelical Christians. Whatever apology may be brought forward in favour of such later contrivances and arrangements, they must not claim Apostolic origin and authority, if the work of Hippolytus be genuine: and this is a proof in itself, even for Protestants, that they are not scriptural.

If I have not entirely failed in my efforts to elicit truth out of the records of thought, and out of the annals of history, which are now opened to us for the first time, I owe it to the resources of thought and learning which I have found in the standard works of modern German divinity and philology, and which I have endeavoured to apply to this subject. Deeply impressed as I am with my unworthiness to represent either, I still trust to have, by this process, and by the very important contents of the newly discovered

book, sufficiently shown the real nature and the superiority of the German method of inquiry, and the satisfactory results already obtained. Now, if this be the case, I believe also that I have enabled every thinking reader to judge for himself, whether there is much wisdom in ignoring, and whether there be not great injustice and presumption in calumniating, the Evangelical Churches of Germany, and in vilifying Germany and German divinity. I frankly own, that I have considered it my duty to avail myself of a subject entirely new and fresh, and belonging to the neutral domain of ancient ecclesiastical history, and of a problem which is placed at the same time before all Christian nations, in order to test the real result and worth of what each of them has hitherto done in that field of thought and research. The proofs which I have given of what has been achieved already, in this respect, by the critical and historical school of Germany, will, I trust, at all events rescue, in the eyes of intelligent and fair judges, from unqualified and unworthy insinuations and suspicions, a nation and a Church from which not only the fathers of the English Church received the Reformation, but which in the last hundred years have shown a self-sacrificing zeal for Christian truth and doctrine, and fought (alas! only too long single-handed the good fight for intellectual and spiritual Christianity, against the overwhelming indifference of this sceptic and materialistic age. Thus much every body

may easily know, and ought to have learned, if he pronounce upon German theology ; that so arduous a task has not been undertaken by the noblest and purest minds of a great, although religiously divided and politically torn, nation out of levity, or for the purpose of showing ingenuity and learning, much less out of hatred against Christianity ; and that it has not been supported, and in its principle accepted, by the people at large, out of infidelity and irreligion. The revilers of German divinity might also know, and ought to appreciate, the fact, that the defects and dangers of German Church life are chiefly attributable to the political misfortunes and sufferings of Germany, not to the individual or national want of religious spirit. The history of nearly a century proves that this attempt to place Christianity upon a more solid and a really tenable basis has been undertaken out of courageous love of truth, and that it has been carried out with sacrifices greater than any class of individuals or any nation ever made to that holy belief, that there must be truth in history as well as in reason and conscience, and that this truth exists in Christ and in Christianity. And this faith is so general, and has ever been so powerful in my Fatherland, that I boldly appeal to the impartial judgment of the world and to the infallible verdict of history, in speaking out my conviction, that there exists at present in no country so much inward, true, sincere, religious feeling and faith in Christ and Christianity, and so

much hope for a better future as to religion, as in Germany, and in Protestant Germany in particular. Liberty is inseparable from abuse, and therefore from scandal: the political history of the politically freest nation in the world is the best proof of that. But men and Christians ought not to be frightened, by such abuse and such scandal, into a betrayal of the sacred cause of liberty or of truth.

I have spoken, and I speak, freely on this subject. First of all, I do so as a Christian, who feels, and has long time felt, the critical state of Christianity in this distracted and yet nobly struggling age. I have further done so as a son of my Fatherland, who feels bound to vindicate the honour of his country among a nation he respects. I lastly have done so as a grateful guest of England. I have wished to vindicate before Germany and the Continent the character of the great body of English Protestants, as not being a party to those absurd and malicious calumnies. I know, from an experience which is deeply engraved in my inmost heart, the spirit of fairness and justice which distinguishes the nation among whom I have now lived almost twelve years. The slanderers and revilers of German religion and divinity do not speak the voice of the Protestant clergy, much less of the Christian people, of England. The attacks upon Germany issue from two parties. One of them is an extreme fraction of the evangelical class in the Church of England and in

some dissenting bodies : a fraction which, unconscious of its origin, has become first indifferent, then hostile, to every free thought and to all critical learning. This, however, is owing to accidental, and I hope transitory, circumstances ; and especially to that unfortunate isolation from the religious life of the rest of the world, and of Germany in particular, in which English Protestants have lived these last two hundred years, with the single exception of John Wesley. But, principally and systematically, these attacks upon Germany come from a party which either has joined, or ought, if consistent, to join, the Church of Rome ; a party in which, whatever the individual earnestness and personal piety of many of its members may be, all Christian ideas are absorbed by sacerdotal formalism unsupported by corresponding doctrine, and by catholic hierarchical pretensions unfounded in themselves, and placed in flagrant contradiction with the records of the Church of England, as well as with the feelings of the people. Those who once were their leaders now preach that historical Christianity must be given up as a fable, if an infallible authority be not acknowledged declaring it to be true. All these are necessarily the bitter enemies and detractors of German divinity, which makes inward religion, and not the form of Church government, the principal object, and which establishes its history upon a rational basis, according to the general rules of

evidence. The leading men of that school know full well why they revile German Protestantism and German philosophy and doctrine. They know instinctively that their efforts to restore exclusive sacerdotal authority upon a system of superstition, delusion, and ignorance, will be vain, as long as there exists a nation bent, above all things, upon conscientious investigation of Christian truth, both by free thought and by unshackled research; a nation which of all tyrannies hates none more than that of priestcraft, and of all liberties loves none so well and so uncompromisingly as that of the intellect. But the Christian public in England is not represented by that party. That great body is neither unwilling to extend the hand of brotherhood to the Evangelic Churches of the Continent, nor ashamed of the name of Protestants. Nor do I think that history will acknowledge as legitimate the authority of these men to lay down the law in divinity and in religion. I at least do not see how such an authority can be founded upon what they have achieved in Christian research or thought, or in the learned interpretation of Scripture, or in the field of missionary labour, or in other great national works, or finally in the free domain of science and literature. I do not believe therefore, that by their achievements they have acquired such titles as are valid and available in the common conscience of mankind, to brand by indiscriminate condemnation, as infidel rational-

ism, the whole theology of Germany, and to vilify the most learned and profound Church of Christendom in the present day; unless they mean to claim as their titles the irrationality of their own system, and that absence of charity in which they glory when speaking of the Protestant divines of Germany, and of the Protestant Churches of the Continent.

Hastings, Sept. 7. 1851.

The statue of Hippolytus, that precious monument of the fourth century, of which I had already pointed out the importance in the "Description of Rome" (vol. ii. B. p. 329. N.), and which is frequently mentioned in the present Volume (pp. 13. 210. 223.), has never yet been well drawn and engraved. Few persons may even have seen that barbarous representation which Fabricius exhibits in his edition of the works of Hippolytus. I therefore thought it right that the historical restoration of Hippolytus should be accompanied with a worthy faithful copy of his statue. Mr. Gruner's lithograph, prefixed to the present Volume, faithfully reproduces a classical drawing made from the original. The statue is above life size, and represents the bishop very characteristically in the Greek pallium, with the Roman toga slung over it. If it does not give an individual likeness of Hippolytus, at all events it presents to us the effigy of a Christian bishop of the Apostolic age, and may, in every respect, be called unique in the history of ancient Christian religion and art.

FIVE LETTERS
TO
ARCHDEACON HARE,
ON
THE AUTHORSHIP, CONTENTS, AND BEARING
OF THE WORK LATELY PUBLISHED
AS
ORIGEN'S PHILOSOPHUMENA,
OR, REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES.

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BUT THAT IT IS NOT THE WORK OF ORIGEN, NOR OF CAIUS
PRESBYTER ; BUT OF HIPPOLYTUS, BISHOP OF PORTUS NEAR
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ERRATUM.

Page 184, line 9, for Γνωθ read Γνωθι.

FIRST LETTER.

PROOF THAT OUR WORK IS OF UNDOUBTED AUTHENTICITY; BUT THAT IT IS NOT THE WORK OF ORIGEN NOR OF CAIUS PRESBYTER, BUT OF HIPPOLYTUS, BISHOP OF PORTUS NEAR OSTIA, PRESBYTER OF THE ROMAN CHURCH, AND MARTYR.

B

Carlton Terrace, June 13. 1851.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

THIS year is indeed an auspicious one, and full of noble emulation, rather than rivalry, and of friendly cooperation, both among nations and individuals. Instead of destructive wars, bitter jealousy, and sullen isolation, it has given us the Crystal Palace, the Exhibition of the Industry of all Nations, and a peaceful concourse and good understanding among jurors and visitors from all countries. Moreover, it promises to give a fresh impulse to historical and philosophical literature and inquiry; for within the last few weeks one of the most valuable monuments of early Christianity has been restored to us by a discovery, which, if I am not greatly mistaken, is the most important made upon that ground for a century, not excepting that of the Syrian manuscripts in the Libyan Desert. A lost work, in ten books, on the internal history of Christianity in the first and second centuries, written undoubtedly by

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an eminent author at the beginning of the third, has just been published.

How many people will smile at this juxtaposition ! Some, perhaps, because they consider the Temple of Industry as a Pandemonium, or, if more elegant, a box of Pandora. But few of this class care for books at all; and since the first of May they are ashamed to utter their evil bodings. There are very many, however, to whom such a comparison will seem to smell strongly of learned pedantry. They fancy, the less we know of early ecclesiastical history, the better for us and our children. Now, among these, some are mere barbarians, others obscurantists by profession; and I disdain to speak to you of either of these classes. But, unfortunately, there are also timid persons among this multitude,—people afraid to think, and who ask, with Pilate, "What is truth?" Having never seriously attempted to find out truth (being prevented either by prejudice and superstition, or by the love of power or of money), they despair of uniting reason and faith, knowledge and peace of mind. The child of this unhallowed fear is pernicious ignorance,—pernicious, because knowledge is not less necessary from being less sought after; and a real knowledge of Christianity, of which that of its earliest history is an integral branch, was never more needed than now, when indifference and ignorance threaten us with all the evils which are foolishly apprehended

from inquiry and knowledge. It seems to me, therefore, that all we, who profess a faith in the human mind, and in the truth of Christianity, should not shrink from declaring our conviction of the importance of discoveries on the field of early ecclesiastical history. Facts on this vast field are the more valuable, because they are so very scarce. I do not think that I exaggerate the importance of our lately discovered work, if I say that it doubles all we really and authentically knew on this subject.

This is the motive which induces me to address these pages, destined for publicity, to you, my dearest friend, together with whom, for near twenty years, I have had the happiness of thinking and inquiring, and in whose love of truth I have found no less comfort than in your erudition and critical judgment.

I say then confidently, that I consider it an auspicious event, worthy to be registered in the annals of this remarkable year, that the book I allude to has been published in it. I cannot help thinking it providential, that a work which throws so much light on the history of Christianity, from the time of the Apostles to the beginning of the third century, and especially on the internal history of the Church of Rome, should have been brought out at this moment. For this is a time when many feel disheartened, not only by the progress of Popery among the clergy of the Church of England, but also by what they hear of German rationalism. The in-

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formants of these good people must have very vague notions, and very little (if any) knowledge of the theological literature of Germany : else how could they confound in one condemnation the most different principles and researches, — Strauss and his opponents, those who attack the authenticity of the Gospels, and those who defend them with an earnestness of thought, of learning, and of faith, which, if the accusers of German theology possess, they effectually conceal? Thus it comes, that many are frightened by the very name of critical researches into the origin of Christianity and of Christian doctrine. They hear so much of the abuse made of the critical researches and hypercritical scepticism against received opinions, accompanied, as usual, by a most uncritical credulity of the critics in their own assertions, that they entirely overlook how others seem to be bent more than ever on stopping and suppressing, or at least discrediting, all inquiry into the origin and history of what they would impose upon us and the generations to come, not only as undoubted historical truth, but even as articles of faith, and, if possible, as the law of the land. Now I consider this despondency a want of faith, and this obscurantism the worst of all persecutions, if it could be practically carried out, and the most dangerous fuel for revolutions, even if only attempted. I deem the pompously demanded divorce between reason and faith, rational conviction and religious belief, alto-

gether unholy ; and I have no hesitation in calling all views low, which are derived from the idolatry of the form or of the dead and killing letter ; however that principle of separation may be called holy, and these views high. I am sure we do not want less inquiry to renew Christian faith, but more. I also believe, with Niebuhr, that Providence always furnishes every generation with the necessary means of arriving at the truth, and at the solution of its doubts ; and as there is no reasonable and tenable faith which is not founded upon rational historical belief, I cannot help thinking it of importance, that we have just now so unexpectedly got our knowledge of facts respecting early Christianity doubled.

And is there not something striking, and congenial to the character of the year 1851, in the history of the discovery ? A French scholar and statesman of high merit, M. Villemain, sent a Greek to Mount Athos to look out for new treasures in the domain of Greek literature. The fruits of this mission were deposited, in 1842, in the great national library, already possessed of so many treasures. Among them was a manuscript of no great antiquity, written in the fourteenth century, not on parchment, but on cotton paper ; and it was registered as a book "On all Heresies," without any indication of its author or age. The modern date of the manuscript, its anonymousness, and probably, above all, this awful title, deterred the scrutinising eyes of the learned of

all nations who glanced over it. It fell to the lot of a distinguished Greek scholar and writer on literature, a functionary of that great institution, M. Emmanuel Miller, to bring forward the hidden treasure. He was first struck by some precious fragments of Pindar, and of an unknown lyric poet, quoted by the anonymous writer: he transcribed and communicated them, in 1846, to his literary friends in Germany, who, highly appreciating their value, restored the text, and urged him to publish the whole work.

It appears that during this time M. Miller had looked deeper into the book itself: for in 1850 he offered it to the University Press at Oxford as a work of undoubted authenticity, and as a lost treatise of Origen "Against all the Heresies." The learned men presiding over that noble institution determined to print, and have just published it, thus giving the sanction of their authority, if not to the authorship, at least to the genuineness of the work. They have done in this case what they did for Wyttenbach's "Plutarch," for Creuzer's "Plotinus," and for Bekker's "Greek Orators." And they deserve the more credit for their liberality in the present case, since the name of Origen is almost branded in the opinion of all who have never read his works, who, I am afraid, are the majority even in learned bodies. Am I not right, therefore, in saying that the publication of this work is congenial to the character of 1851, by showing the good results of international

communication and friendly cooperation? The book was discovered by a Greek sent from Paris, and has been most creditably edited by a French scholar, and very liberally printed by an English university press. The publication has been accomplished by a combination of different nations, and could scarcely at this time have been brought about otherwise.

I could not help dwelling for a moment on those circumstances, before entering on the real object of these letters, which I will now do without further preface, after stating how I have become acquainted with the work in question.

Dr. Tregelles, to whom I hope we shall soon be indebted for the most authentic Greek text of the New Testament, informed me last week of the appearance of the work, and gladdened my heart by his account of the warmth with which the almost centenary veteran among living authors on the early monuments of Christianity, the venerable Dr. Routh, had immediately studied the book, and acknowledged its importance. I procured a copy in consequence, and perused it as soon as I could; and I have already arrived at conclusions, which seem to me so evident, that I feel no hesitation in expressing them to you at once.

I maintain:—

First, that the work before us is genuine, but not by Origen.

Secondly, that it is the work of Hippolytus, a person much celebrated, but very little known.

Thirdly, that this celebrated father and martyr, Hippolytus, was a presbyter of the Church of Rome, and bishop of the harbour of Rome, *Portus*, but neither an Arab, nor an Arabian bishop, as a Frenchman imagined he might, and Cave said he must, have been.

Fourthly, that this book is full of valuable authentic extracts from lost writers.

Leaving the discussion of the third and fourth points for future letters, I shall limit myself in this to establishing the proof of the first two points, as far as this can be done without examining the arrangement and the contents of the work in detail.

I maintain, then, that our treatise is an authentic work of the earliest part of the third century, but not by Origen.

The arguments which prove this are both negative and positive. No ancient author names or quotes, among the numerous works of Origen, any "Against all Heresies," or any "Refutation of all Heresies," which is the undoubted title of the book now published. Miller is indeed right in saying, that the seven books contained in the Paris manuscript, from the fourth to the tenth, are the continuation and end of the same work, of which the "*Philosophumena*," printed among Origen's works, form the first book. The author says so himself in more than one passage.

In fact, that first book bears the same title, "A Refutation of all Heresies;" and the title *Philosophumena*, which we find besides in some manuscripts, is evidently only a special name given to the first four books: for these, as we see now, contained an exposition of the systems of the ancient, and in particular of the Greek, philosophers, preparatory to the refutation of the heresies, which occupies the six latter books. That special title recurs in our manuscript at the end of the fourth book, to signify that the first part of the work terminates here.

It is also right to add that our manuscripts of this first book attribute the work to Origen, and that a marginal rubric in our Paris manuscript calls the concluding confession of faith that of Origen. But I agree entirely with Christian Wolf, Le Moyne, Fabricius, the Benedictine editor, and the recent learned biographer of Origen, Professor Redepenning, that the introduction with which the first book begins proves the contrary. The author says that he has undertaken the work as an act of official duty, incumbent upon him both as a bishop and a teacher. Now Origen can never have said this of himself: yet no other interpretation can be affixed to the following words:—"No other person will refute the heretics, except the Holy Spirit delivered to the Church, which the Apostles possessed first, and which they imparted to those who had embraced the true faith. Now we, being successors of the Apostles,

and endued with the same grace, *both of high-priesthood and of teaching*, and being accounted guardians of the Church, will not shut our eyes, nor keep from declaring the true doctrine." Interpreting these words in the sense of the writers of the first three centuries, I am quite sure Hippolytus did not attach to the title of high-priesthood any Pagan or Jewish sense, but simply meant the office of a Christian bishop. But a bishop he must have been, who used that word to describe his office and its responsibility.

But if these words prove our author to have been a bishop when he wrote the work, the ninth book gives still clearer evidence that at that time he resided at or near Rome, and was a member, and an eminent one, of the Roman presbytery. Even they who know no more of the primitive ecclesiastical polity than what they may have learned from Bingham and Mosheim, must be aware that the six bishops of the towns and districts in the immediate neighbourhood of Rome formed, even in the second century, part of what was then called the Church of Rome. They were integral portions of her presbytery and took part in the election of her bishop; and in the important functions of ecclesiastical discipline and administration. One of those suburban bishops was the bishop of Portus, the new harbour of the Tiber, opposite to Ostia, formed by Trajan. Hippolytus, in almost all the ancient accounts respecting

him, bears the title of *Episcopus Portuensis*: and we shall see later that there never was any other tradition about him. I will only say here, that his celebrated statue in the Vatican Library, found in the year 1551, in the very ancient cemetery near Rome, described (about the year 400) by Prudentius as the place of the burial of Hippolytus, the bishop of Portus near Ostia, is sufficient to prove him to have been that bishop: for he is represented sitting on the episcopal chair or cathedra, and the Paschal cycle inscribed on the chair is a Western Roman one.

But the book before us does not speak less clearly upon this subject. Without entering here into the detail of the curious contents of the ninth book, I will only refer to the numerous passages in it where the author speaks of himself, in the singular, as of an influential and active member of the Roman clergy; and he uses the word "we" in acts of ecclesiastical authority exercised by the clergy as a body.* Now

* ix. 7. (p. 279.), Zephyrinus and Callistus patronized the heresy of the Noetians: *καίτοι ἡμῶν μηδέποτε συγχωρησάντων, ἀλλὰ πλειστάκις ἀντικαθεστῶτων πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ διαλεξάντων καὶ ἄκοντας βιασαμένων τὴν ἀληθείαν ὁμολογεῖν*. The same official and authoritative position of the author appears in the passage, ix. 11. (p. 285.), where he says of Sabellius: *ἐν γὰρ τῷ ὑφ' ἡμῶν παραινεῖσθαι οὐκ ἐσκληρύνετο· ἡνίκα δὲ σὺν τῷ Καλλίστῳ ἐμόναζεν* (who was then bishop of Rome) *ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἀνεσιείτο*. Compare also the following passages: ix. 12. (p. 289.) he speaks of Callistus as fearing the author personally: *δεδοικῶς ἐμέ*. Of some persons excluded from the Roman Church, he says: *ἐκβλητοὶ τῆς ἐκκλησίας ὑφ' ἡμῶν γενόμενοι* (p. 290.). Now only the

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though Origen paid a short visit to Rome about that time, when he was very young, he could never have acted that part or used that language, being simply a visitor from an Eastern church, if he had been at Rome under Callistus, which he was not.

Our first argument evidently excludes Caius, as much as the second does any one who was not a Roman clergyman at the time. That learned presbyter of the Church of Rome was indeed, like Hippolytus, a disciple of Irenæus; and another work of our author, and one which decides the authorship of a third, was ascribed in early times to Caius. But never was any work on the general history of heresies said to have been written by this Roman presbyter.

Now an ordinary reader, finding so considerable a work assigned confidently to Origen, might suppose that some book under that title was really ascribed to the learned Alexandrian by some at least of the many ancient writers who treat of his literary achievements: yet there is not the slightest record that Origen ever wrote a work under any like title.

But perhaps it may be the same with Hippolytus, whose station and history seem alone to agree with our book? On the contrary, a book of exactly the same title is ascribed almost universally to him, the Roman presbyter, and bishop of Portus near Ostia.

decree of the presbytery of the Roman Church could expel from its communion; and none but a member of the Roman presbytery could speak thus.

Eusebius (H. E. 22.), speaking of Hippolytus, the celebrated author of the "Chronological Annals, which go down to the first year of Alexander Severus" (222), and of the "Paschal Cycle," which begins from the first year of that reign, mentions, amongst his works, that "Against all the Heresies" (*πρὸς πάσας τὰς αἰρέσεις*). Jerome does the same, which must be considered in this case as an independent testimony; for he gives the titles of some works not mentioned by Eusebius. Epiphanius (Hær. xi. c. 33.) cites the name of Hippolytus, with those of Clemens of Alexandria and of Irenæus, as the principal authors who had refuted the Valentinian heresies, the treatise on which occupies so prominent a part in the book before us.

Finally, the letter of Peter, bishop of Alexandria (who suffered martyrdom in 311), on the Paschal time,—a letter, the authenticity of which, doubted even by Routh (Reliq. Sacræ, iv.), is now proved by Mai's discoveries*,—quotes a passage from the work "of Hippolytus, the witness of the truth, the bishop of Portus near Rome, Against all the Heresies (*πρὸς πάσας τὰς αἰρέσεις*)," about the heresy of the Quarto-decimani; and I shall prove in my next letter, that this passage must have existed in our work, but that our present text gives us only an extract in this as in several other places.

* See the new edition of the *Chronicon Paschale vel Alexandrinum*, by Dindorf. Bonn, 1832.

We may sum up the arguments brought forward hitherto in a few words. The book cannot have been written by Origen, nor even by Caius the presbyter; and nobody ever attributed to either of them a book with a like title. On the other hand, such a book is ascribed by the highest authorities to Hippolytus, bishop of Portus, presbyter of the Church of Rome, who lived and wrote about 220, as the "Paschal Cycle" and his statue expressly state.

The name of Origen in a marginal rubric cannot avail against such negative and positive evidence. It is besides no fresh argument: for the work contained in the Paris manuscript is evidently the continuation of the book printed, on the faith of manuscripts, under Origen's name, and among his works, but generally, and for very cogent reasons, pronounced not to be his.

But perhaps there may be some argument in store which we have not yet touched upon. Ay, there is; and it is a piece of evidence which, even if it stood alone, would put an end to all controversy on the authorship of our work. For we have an authentic and specific description of the contents of the work of Hippolytus "Against all Heresies"; and this description tallies so exactly with the book before us, that it cannot have been given of any other. I mean the account which the patriarch Photius has noted down of the contents of this work in the journal of his reading, known as "Photii Bibliotheca." The

object of my second letter being to go through the whole account of the heresies, in order to prove this, I shall open it with Photius' own words.

But I cannot conclude this letter without expressing my gratitude and respect for the learned editor. His plan at first was to give the text exactly as it stood; but finding this impossible, in consequence of the innumerable blunders in the manuscript, he has received such corrections into the text as, on the whole, could scarcely be doubtful, reserving for the notes his further suggestions for rendering the text intelligible, which it very often is not. He has used so much moderation in both respects, that a great part of the text is still scarcely intelligible, or at least very corrupt. I hope to prove this, and to contribute my mite toward rendering it less obscure. But I trust it will not be forgotten that the principle adopted by the editor is a right one for a first edition; and that we owe the advantage of having, not only a thoroughly accurate, and on the whole a readable text, to the sagacity and good scholarship of him, who, having to wade through shoals of blunders, and to point out chasms, omissions, and other corruptions in every page, contented himself with correcting those errors and defects with a sparing hand, reserving the rest for a more complete edition, to be published at Paris. I beg besides to say, that those who have never perused manuscripts should consider that, if we read the

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ancient classical authors with so much ease, we have been enabled to do so by a similar process of progressive criticism carried on through ages.

Having but little time to spare from the fifth and last book of my "Egypt" for this sudden digression to the second Christian century, you may be sure of having the end of my correspondence in a few weeks, and my next letter in a few days.

Ever yours faithfully,

BUNSEN.

SECOND LETTER.

THE PLAN OF THE WORK, AND THE CONTENTS OF ITS PRINCIPAL PART, "THE EXPOSITION OF THE HERESIES," ARE DIRECT PROOFS OF THE IDENTITY OF OUR BOOK WITH THAT READ AND DESCRIBED BY PHOTIUS AS A WORK OF BISHOP HIPPOLYTUS WITH THE SAME TITLE.

Carlton Terrace, June 20. 1851.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

THE account given by Photius, the learned patriarch of Constantinople, runs thus* :—

“A little book of Hippolytus’ was read. Hippolytus was a disciple of Irenæus. It is a treatise on *thirty-two heresies*, beginning with the DOSITHEANS, and going down to NOETUS and the NOETIANS. He says that Irenæus entered into a refutation of them in his Lectures, and that he, Hippolytus, made a synopsis of these, and thus composed this book. The style of the book is clear, and rather stately, but not turgid, though it does not come up to Attic speech. He says some things which are not quite correct; for instance, that the Epistle to the Hebrews is not by the apostle Paul. He is reported to have addressed the congregation, in imitation of Origen, with whom he lived on familiar terms, and of whose learned works he was a great admirer.”

* Photii Bibliotheca, c. cxxi.

Then follows a long account of what Hippolytus had done, to encourage the writing and secure the publication and preservation of Origen's works. But all this, if we look a little closer, turns out to be a blunder. Eusebius, immediately after his short notice of Hippolytus and his works, mentioned this in reference, not to Hippolytus, but to that good and zealous layman, Ambrosius, whom Origen himself calls his taskmaster, who made him write. Jerome had taken the first false step, by interpreting the first two words of Eusebius' account, "*From that time*" . . . Ambrosius," as if they signified *In imitation of him* (Hippolytus) . . . Ambrosius, &c.

So much for the last part of the patriarch's account. We can dispose almost as easily of the statement which precedes this in Photius. It is at all events taken from Jerome, who, among Origen's works, mentions a homily on the praise of our Lord and Saviour, in which Hippolytus signifies, "that he preached in the church in the presence of Origen." This can only mean, if the text is correct, that the sermon was preached when Origen was present, probably, therefore, when the Alexandrian doctor was at Rome. Photius, perhaps, read differently†: at all events, it matters not to us whether Jerome misun-

* ἐξ ἐκείνου. Euseb. H.E. vi. 23.

† Instead of *παρόντος*, *πρῶτοντος*; or *præeunte* instead of *præseunte*; and then it would mean that Hippolytus had preached, like Origen, learned sermons, worth publishing; for this, we know, had never been done at Rome before Hippolytus.

derstood a Greek text or the patriarch a Latin one : both blundered.

But the remainder of Photius' account of the book, which is assuredly the same with ours, must be his own, and written as his impression on reading Hippolytus' work, and of the discussion about it with his council. I was struck, at first, by the expression "a little book" (*βιβλιδάριον*), for a work in ten books, of which seven and a half fill about 300 octavo pages. But it is to be considered, that he takes no notice of the "Philosophumena;" and the rest, the account of the heresies, occupies less than 250 pages. Photius uses the same word (*βιβλιδάριον*) soon afterwards (c. 126.) for a manuscript containing at least the two Epistles of the Roman Clemens to the Corinthians, and Polycarp's Epistle to the Philippians, which together would form a volume fully equal to this second section of Hippolytus' work. Hence, as probably he had only this second part before him, that expression has nothing surprising in it. It must be confessed indeed that our manuscript has no passage quoting the Epistle to the Hebrews; but the quotation may have occurred in the introduction, where the author, most probably, spoke of the relation of his work to that of Irenæus. Such a general introduction seems to be wanting. The "Philosophumena" in our manuscripts begin rather abruptly with an introduction, which may have been a special one for that first section of

the work. But the passage alluded to may also have occurred in the lost second, or third, or at the beginning of the fourth book. We learn from the introduction to the "*Philosophumena*," that they treated, first, of the main systems of Greek philosophy; and the account of these forms our first book, with an appendix respecting the Brachmans (in which Megasthenes' Mandanis is named, but written Dandamis), the Druids, and Hesiod. Besides, the author says he had in that section given an account of the mystical and the astrological systems; and we see, from other passages, that he had referred not only to the Greek writers, but also to the Chaldæan, Assyrian, and Egyptian. Now, what we read of the fourth book treats exclusively of the mathematical and astrological theories: it is therefore clear that the second and third must have been exclusively or principally devoted to an exposition of the mystical systems of antiquity. Here our author had ample opportunities for quoting the Hebrews, as a corrective of mystic writers respecting sacrifices, rites, and mysteries. Or that passage may also have occurred at the end, where our manuscript is defective.

But who can say that this censure may not refer to some other work of Hippolytus, and apply to the author, not to our book? What follows immediately certainly does. At all events, I have no doubt about the fact, that Hippolytus expressed himself in

that way respecting the Epistle to the Hebrews, and therefore incorrectly in the eyes of the patriarch. He could no more have ascribed it to the apostle Paul, than did any one of his cotemporaries in the Western Church, or even any Alexandrian writer openly, before Dionysius, about the year 250. The Romans knew better than anybody, from their first regular bishop, Clemens, that it was not St. Paul's.

The rest of the account given by Photius is positive and accurate enough to prove that we have the work he speaks of before us. Ere I enter into a detailed proof of this assertion, I will briefly state the three leading points of my argument.

First: Our author follows the arrangement stated by Photius. He begins with the old Judaizing sects, which were not connected with Valentinus, as, according to the general tradition of antiquity, Simon was. This is the characteristic difference between him and Irenæus. That pious and learned bishop of the Gauls, having to deal principally with the Valentinians of his time, his immediate adversaries, gradually ascends to Valentinus personally, and lastly to Simon and the Simonians, whom he considers as the root of the Gnostic system with which he had to contend. Hippolytus adopted the reverse method, the truly historical one. The second book of this section (book vi.) begins with Simon, the arch-sectary, and then proceeds to Valentinus.

But the first (book v.) treats of those primitive sects of Jewish Christians, who, having set forth their speculative and cabalistic dreams about the Old Testament and the Jewish rites, connected Jesus of Nazareth, as the Christ, both with Judaic symbols and cosmogonic theories; whereas those known in later times as the Gnostics (a name first adopted, according to Hippolytus, by these Judaizing sects) started from Gentile and anti-Judaic views.

Photius evidently found these Judaic sects, as we do in our book, at the head of his treatise; but he expresses himself inaccurately. Instead of calling them Ophites, as he might have done, or Naassenes, which is the same thing, or Justinians, he designates them as Dositheans, a sect not mentioned in our book at all. But the name represents those earliest Judaizing schools: so the author of the Appendix to Tertullian's book, "De præscriptionibus hæreticorum," begins the list of heretics with Dositheus. This is not correct; for Dositheus was not a Christian at all, but lived before Christ, and founded a mystic sect among the Samaritans.* The last of the heresies treated by Hippolytus in the work read by Photius was that of the Noetians: and so, in fact, it is in our book.

Secondly: Our work, like that read by Photius,

* Epiphan. Hæres. iv. Samarit. p. 30. sq. Neander, K. G. i. 784. Anm. Dorner, Person Christi, p. 144. See particularly A. Ritschl, Die Entstehung der altkatholischen Kirche (Bonn, 1850), p. 161.

contains the enumeration and refutation of just *thirty-two* heresies, a number corresponding neither with the enumeration of Irenæus, nor with that given by Epiphanius*, or by any other known writer.

Thirdly: Photius tells us that his author gives his work as based upon that of Irenæus, and as being an extract from his "Lectures." Now I shall soon show you whole articles copied from Irenæus, which give all his facts, leaving out his declamations and prolix refutations. Of course Photius does not say that Hippolytus gave nothing but such an extract. He evidently could only copy such articles as Irenæus had written; certainly not the account of the Noetians, and others later than Irenæus. But, if Hippolytus' work was only an epitome from Irenæus, with a continuation to his own times, Photius would not have spoken with such regard of it; nor would later writers, who knew Irenæus full well, have called it an indispensable book. Now what is the method employed by our author? He takes, in the articles copied from Irenæus, the historical facts, generally word for word. Then, leaving out the rest, he gives in many cases very important additions, in the most authentic form, by extracts from the works of the heresiarchs. Besides, he has several articles which are entirely his own. To these necessarily belong all those on heresies more recent than Irenæus, and generally on all which his great master had omitted.

* Hæreses, xiv.

But, in the next place, Hippolytus has also some elaborate articles of his own on authors treated by Irenæus, about whom Hippolytus had made "more accurate researches," as he says himself*, and as his works prove. With respect to all these articles, we may say that, as far as the facts are concerned, and, therefore, the extracts from the heretical works, our book is a very conscientious critical enlargement of Irenæus. For, if we look to the facts given by that father, and pass by his theological refutations, we are reduced, almost exclusively, to the first book of the five against heresies; and in this far the greater portion is taken up by his own reasoning. We may therefore say, that Hippolytus' work is both an enlargement and an improvement of the first book of Irenæus, and still adopt Photius' assertion, that the author gives it as a synopsis made from Irenæus. Indeed, a passage of our book refers to Irenæus for that very purpose.

Nor does the improvement consist only in those incomparably more copious and authentic extracts, but also in the chronological, or rather genealogical, account of the heresies, which he has substituted for Irenæus' arrangement. There is also a great improvement in another essential point: Hippolytus' account of the heresies is preceded by a lucid and learned review of the systems of physical philosophy, principally those of the Greeks, but also of the

* ἀκριβέστερον ἐξετάσας, p. 203., speaking of the Marcosians.

Egyptians and Assyrians. In this first treatise he has collected what best proves the great argument which is entirely peculiar to him and characteristic of our work. Hippolytus says he will show that whatever is given by the heretics as Christian speculation, and even doctrine, is borrowed, in its first principles, from those older systems, and in particular from the Greeks; only with this difference, that the Greeks have the merit of invention, and of having expressed every thing much better. He applies the same argument of want of originality to the mysteries and orgies which those heretics wanted to introduce into the Christian world, and which he endeavours to show to be a reproduction of those of Paganism. If, then, proceeds his argument, their first principles are not their own, how can they claim credit for them as inventors? and how can they father them upon Christ and the apostles? That point once established, says Hippolytus, it is unnecessary to enter into any detailed refutation of those heretical principles. This very sensible idea is such a favourite with him, that most of the articles which are his own are preceded by, or interwoven with, a recapitulation of those speculative principles of the philosophers, which bear specially on the heresy he is to explain and refute. It is true that sometimes this method of reducing the heretical systems to Pythagorean, or Platonic, or Aristotelian speculations, is not quite conclusive, and may be termed fanciful. Indeed, the whole refutation is not

always satisfactory, and the whole idea is not original. Pantæus, the founder of the Catechetical school of Alexandria, himself originally a thorough Academic philosopher, had first recommended and applied that method, as we know from Clemens, his disciple. Irenæus had taken this hint, or at least thrown out the idea that it was useful to trace many of the speculative opinions of the heresiarchs to the doctrine of the ancient schools of Greek philosophy. The nineteenth chapter of the second book proves this. But this chapter goes through the argument in a very hurried and confused manner: sufficiently to give him the merit of having inspired the first four books of our work, but not at all to make the author his transcriber. Hippolytus carried out accurately, by recurring to the sources, what his master had sketched out roughly, and he treated methodically what Irenæus had touched upon incidentally. He worked out the argument as completely as he could, and made his succinct but coherent review of ancient *philosophumena* an integral part of the work, placing it judiciously at the head. Thus understood, the comparison of that chapter of Irenæus with our first four books leads to a striking confirmation of Photius' account, and furnishes us, moreover, with a proof of the originality of the book and of the independent researches of its author.

These, then, are the three points I hope to prove

satisfactorily; and of these three the third is the most important, and irresistibly conclusive.

I do not see how I can go through this argument conscientiously, without a complete enumeration of the thirty-two articles in question, with reference to these points, and especially to the third. This letter will therefore necessarily be a long one. I shall endeavour to keep strictly to the subject. If I allow myself to call your attention here and there to some of the special results, in showing how the new facts which we learn from our author bear directly upon the critical controversies of our day, the interest attaching to the subject will be my excuse. But I beg you not to consider this as an attempt to exhaust the new materials for thought and investigation now opened to us, which, for many years to come, will occupy the thoughtful scholars who care for truth and Christianity, but merely as the hints of one who is among the foremost to travel through these records, and, as he passes on in haste, cannot see the gold of truth and knowledge lying on the surface, or glittering amid the stones and rubbish, without telling you of it.

If I am not mistaken, this auspiciously discovered book will oblige all who think it their duty to speak or write on the doctrinal history of the earliest Church, to give up the method followed almost without exception, from the fourth and fifth

century down to the eighteenth, and first combated by Basnage, and above all by Mosheim. I do not know, whether in reading the ancient and modern accounts of heretics you have had the same feeling ; but I confess I have always felt a doubt who were the greatest fools, they who invented and believed such absurd and wicked imaginations and conceits, or they who seriously refuted them, or finally, they who took all this for a piece of history. For certainly all those representations of heresies from the fourth to the eighteenth century have led, and needs must lead, to a conclusion much like that of the Pharisee in the temple, which may be worded thus : "God, I thank thee that I am not as one of those monsters, sinners, sons of Belial, nor condemned to dispute with them, but that I am a good (Catholic or Protestant) Christian." Or in a strain like this : "but that I am a philosopher, knowing, as a reasonable theist, that all this is stuff of the 'dark ages,' most probably not true, but at all events of no interest for our enlightened and advancing age, in which I have the (well deserved) privilege to live." I can well understand how that good, pious, and learned divine of the last century, Gottfried Arnold, at Halle, tried his hand at the ancient heresies, in order to find out whether at the bottom of all that absurdity there had not been some thought, and in all that apparently wilful wickedness some honest and respectable con-

viction, and above all, how we knew that those people really said all the absurdity and impiety which are laid to their charge. There is a decided reaction in Arnold; and I consider it as one of the triumphs of modern criticism, that we have got over this mere reaction of an ingenuous mind, as well as over that dry, unhistorical (and, I must add, generally uncritical, and always prejudiced) way of treating the theological systems of the first three centuries, not judging them by what they are in themselves, but simply by what they are, or may be supposed to be, with reference to certain terms, formulas, and theories of later ages. These formularies may be true; but they are at all events not those of the first ages; and the metaphysical distinctions they proceed upon are not revealed facts, but conventional philosophy.

All I can say is, that if you have a similar feeling on this subject, you will hail with me this recently discovered work as standing upon a very different ground. Our good father of the Church is of very strict orthodoxy, and does not always use very mild language towards those who taught different speculative and exegetical theories in his time, two successive Roman bishops not excepted. But he does so in self-defence, as he himself says, and with the unmistakable accent of Christian conviction and charity. He does not disdain to look

for thought in the midst of apparent absurdity, for honest purpose even amongst those whom he combats. Moreover, he thinks philosophical controversies cannot be understood without an adequate philosophy: thought, he supposes, right or wrong, can only be appreciated by thought. He therefore deems it well to ask the question, whether the theories, logical, metaphysical, or physical, discussed among Christians upon Christian grounds, were not discussed before by Hellens and barbarians under the form of pure reasoning; and he comes to the conclusion that very often they were so. He further proceeds upon the assumption that he and we shall better understand the heresies, if we examine them as they followed each other, instead of going backward. Above all, he thinks it fair to let even a heretic speak for himself, and not in broken sentences (by which method you may make any one say pretty much what you like), but in long, coherent, distinct passages. This method certainly proves itself very valuable for the knowledge of facts; and besides it saves us much weariness,—which if any one does not know, I would beg him to read through Epi-phanus, and he will know it for life.

Let us see now, whether these advantages do not show themselves in the very first book on heresies, the fifth of the work.

BOOK V.

This book treats first of the *Ophites* or Worshipers of the Serpent, as the symbol of the moving principle of the universe.

I. The NAASSÊNI or OPHITES, from *nakhash*, the Hebrew word for a serpent. (30 pages, 94—123.)

They, and their cognate sects, called themselves *Gnostics*, as being the only persons who knew the “depths” (p. 94.); but they received, like the others, the name of Naassêni or Ophites, because they said the Serpent was the real God, to whom every temple was consecrated, as representing the first generative substance, the moist element, corresponding to Thales’ water (p. 119. sqq.) They also called the first principle *Logos*, the “Man from above,” *Adamas*, whom they glorified in their hymns (p. 95. cf. 122.). He, like everything, consists of three principles, spiritual, psychical, and material, which elements all coalesced in Jesus, the son of Mary. James, our Lord’s brother, had delivered the whole system to Mariamne. They used as their Gospel that known to us, by some ancient quotations, as the Gospel according to the Egyptians* (p. 98); and another (if it was not substan-

* A λόγιον of Christ, written in this Gospel, is alluded to in one of their books (p. 99.): ὅπου οὐκ ἔστιν οὐδὲ θῆλυ οὐδὲ ἄρσεν. Pseudo-Clem. Rom. Ep. ii. § 12.: ὅταν ἔσται τὰ δύο ἓν, καὶ τὸ ἕξ ὡς τὸ ἕσω, καὶ τὸ ἄρσεν μετὰ τῆς θηλείας, οὔτε ἄρσεν οὔτε θῆλυ. Comp. Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. p. 465.

tially the same), called the Gospel according to Thomas (p. 101.). They also made use of the Gospel of St. John, and of the Epistles of St. Paul, as well as of the Old Testament. Their reasonings seem principally founded upon speculative ideas of Philo's school*, which they attempted to support either by the most unscrupulous misinterpretation of Scripture or by dark ancient rites and mysteries. The birthplace of this sect is evidently Phrygia: for to the language, rites, and mysteries of this country, the fruitful soil of all orgiastic extravagances, everything is reduced in the last instance. A beautiful mystical hymn, by which the public celebration of the mysteries was opened in the theatre in honour of Attis, is given in this place. Schneidewin† thinks it belongs to the age and style of Mysomedes, who flourished under Antoninus Pius.

As to their rites, they seem to have been truly Phrygian, that is, orgiastic, wild, and connected with phallic symbolism. They did not adopt the mutilation of their priests, but forbade marriage. (p. 119.)

II. Next come the PERATÆ or PERATICS (pp. 123—138.), founded by *Euphrates*, called ὁ Περαιτικός, which name Clemens Alexandrinus rightly under-

* To this class belongs the question (p. 98.), Whether the soul is ἐκ τοῦ προσόντος or ἐκ τοῦ αὐτογενοῦς (the text has ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ γένους, which gives no sense; the use of αὐτογενής by our author is proved by 124, 27, 43.) ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ἐκκεχυμένου χάους.

† Philologus, iii. 246.

stood as indicating their country. Your remark in our conversation on the subject has led me to connect this name with the description of his companion, *Ademes**, as the *Carystian*. This makes him a *Eubœan*; and as Eubœa is called so frequently ἡ πέραν, the country beyond the channel, *Peratæ* must be taken for a general designation of the school, from the native country of their founders or leading authors. This is not in contradiction to the fact that a cognate sect became decidedly a Phrygian one. The name of Euphrates was known before from Origen; but so little did we know of him, that Neander thinks he may have lived before Christ. †

We have here a mixed sect, which, starting from general Oriental and Jewish speculations, and local mysticism and orgies, adopted Christianity in their own way as an order of the initiated. Their whole system is decidedly fatalistic and astrological; and it would seem that they interpreted their name, *Peratai*, with reference to the Greek πέραν, *trans*, or περᾶν, *transire*, saying that by their gnosis they alone of mankind should pass through destruction and get beyond it, — a derivation, which proves only that they did not like the true one (p. 131.). Their sacred book too had a title not easily explained: Οἱ προδαστεῖοι ἕως αἰθέρος, “the suburbans up to the

* Theodoret also calls him *Ademes*: in our text the name is written in another passage *Kelbes*, and in a third *Akembes*.

† *Kirchengeschichte*, i. 771.

ether" (pp. 130. 131. 49.). Neander's doubt, whether Euphrates did not live before Christ, is decidedly solved by the extracts here given; for Christ is evidently an integral element in their wild physical speculation; and they quote the Gospels and St. Paul as well as the Old Testament. The worship of the Serpent as the first moving principle (p. 135.), and the triplicity of the first cause, seem to have been their leading doctrines. The Demiurg, or creator of the visible world, is the evil principle (p. 136.).

III. The SETHIANI (pp. 138—148.), from Seth, Σήθ, constantly, but falsely, written in the text Σιθιανοί. —Their sacred book was called Παράφρασις Σήθ, from the name of the old patriarch (p. 147. sq.), who was ever among the Jews the symbol of mystical and lying tradition, to which the famous columns of Seth also belong. They worshipped the Serpent and the Logos (pp. 142, 143.), made use of Orphic theology, and of the mysteries of Eleusis*, and believed themselves, like all Gnostics, the only elect and the only knowing (p. 146.).

IV. JUSTINUS, not of course the martyr, but the *Gnostic* (pp. 148—159.), who wrote the "Book of Baruch" for his sect (p. 149.).—He regarded Jesus as the son of Mary and Joseph (p. 156.). His followers

* p. 144.: where, instead of μεγαληγορία (for which the editor proposes μεγάλη εορτή), I read μέγала δργια; and p. 145. 21., Φλιασίας δργια instead of φλοιαῖς ιονόργια. M. Miller conjectures συνόργια or δργια.

had other sacred books. They also adopted three causes or first principles (p. 150.), and had genealogies of angels, springing from Elohim and Edem (Eden), the female principle. Amongst their names we meet Amen, which may explain Apoc. iii. 14. : and the well-known Achamoth of the Irenæan Ophites (i. 30, 31.). Elohim sends Baruch to Jesus, when he was twelve years of age, in the time of Herod, watching sheep. He brought him the message of the true God, and encouraged him to announce it to mankind. Jesus answered, "Lord, I will do all." The Serpent, becoming wroth at this, brought about his death on the cross (p. 156. sq). The followers of this sect took a frightful oath when initiated.

Of all this we knew next to nothing hitherto. It is now clear that we have to deal with sects which were coeval with Peter and Paul, as Simon was. But they started from foreign Judaism, mixed up with the pantheistic mysticism of Asia Minor. Hereby they were also opposed to the Valentinians, who started from Gentile ground; although, being Christians, they could not help drawing Judaism into the sphere of their speculations. Our author, as we shall see presently, derives the Valentinian principles from Simon, and brings Cerinthus, who also belongs to the first century, into connection with them. But he distinguishes the Ophites entirely from all these, and places them at the head of the whole list, which, he repeatedly says, indicates

the order they appeared in. Irenæus represents the Ophites expressly as predecessors of Valentinianism : but the schools he enumerates are evidently mixed up with this system. Nothing is more natural. The first outburst of Gnosticism sprang from a mixture of Christianity with Phrygian Judaism, imbued generally with Gentile speculations, orgies and mysteries. The Jewish element was considered as the least important. But, after Valentinus had taken upon himself to solve that great problem of the world's history, Judaism, by interpreting it as the working of the Demiurg, or the mundane evil principle, those Gnostics appropriated many of the leading speculations and fictions of Valentinianism. Thus we can explain the representation, which Irenæus, in the last two chapters of his first book, gives of the Ophitic systems. We have only now the pure, primitive Ophites before us.

And are they really unknown to us? I hope, on the contrary, my dear friend, you will agree with me, that most probably we have here the very heretics to whom the Apostle alludes in the fourth chapter of his First Epistle to Timothy. The "endless genealogies" (i. 4.) must be explained, as many have suggested, of the cosmological genealogies of æons or angels. Here we have them, in the very words of the most ancient sects. All that has been said against the Pauline origin of that Epistle, and of the Pastoral Letters in general, on the score of the allusions

to heretics, thus falls to the ground. I believe I have proved in my "Letters on Ignatius," that the internal state of the Church, as to the organization of the congregations, leads irresistibly to the same result.

But do you not see, that the whole scheme of the late origin of the Gospel of St. John falls also to the ground, if our book is authentic, as undoubtedly it is, and if our author deserves credit for the arrangement of his historical account, and justly claims authority for his extracts from the sacred books of those Phrygian-Jewish fathers of Gnosticism? The Ophites all know the Logos, and all worship the Serpent as his symbol, or that of the Demiurg opposed to him: for on that point there seems to have been a difference among them. They refer, however, not to the Logos of Philo, but to the Logos personified in man, and identified with Jesus of Nazareth, the son of Mary. The only admissible alternative, therefore, seems to me to be this. When St. John, towards the end of the first century, wrote down his evidence respecting Jesus the Christ, and placed at the head of his exposition those simple and grand words on the Logos, he either referred to sects who had abused the speculations about the Logos, as God's thought of himself, or he did not. If he did, as it seems to me impossible to doubt, he cannot have had in mind so much the philosophical followers of Philo, who abhorred the very idea of the personal union of the Logos with Man, as the Christian heretics who

perverted this idea in one way or another. This being the case, I maintain that he had before him the very sects which we have now become acquainted with from their own writings, the very titles of which we did not know hitherto. At all events then, what the Apostle says is not the Christian and popular expression of a speculative system of Valentinianism, but the simple statement of the fact, that the Logos is neither an abstract notion, nor an angel, nor an æon (if that word existed as a term), but that He is one with the Man Jesus, the Christ.

That this reasoning is sound, the progress of our researches will easily prove. For even in the second stage of Gnosticism, the Gentile one, we find the very words of St. John evidently alluded to, long before the last quarter or third of the second century, when, according to the most unhappy of all philological conjectures, and the most untrue of all historical views, the system of Strauss and Baur, that Gospel made its appearance as the fag-end of Gnosticism!

In declaring myself so strongly against Baur's historical hypothesis, I think it is only fair to add, that no one has done more for the speculative comprehension of the Gnostic systems than this eminent writer, of whose researches concerning that part of the history of philosophy those only can speak without respect, who have never read them or who are incapable of understanding them. The facts now before us show, that many of his acute illustrations

of the very difficult and abstruse concluding chapters of Irenæus' first book, and especially his treatise on the Ophites (Gnosis, pp. 171—207.), are wonderfully confirmed by the work before us. It is unnecessary to say, that Neander's representation of those systems in the second edition of his "Ecclesiastical History"* gains many a confirmation from our pages. But I beg to refer the reader especially to some hints which Dorner gives in his marvellous work on the "History of the Doctrine about the Person of Christ;"† and to A. Ritschl, "On the Origin of the ancient Catholic Church," a book full of independent research.

BOOK VI.

Simon, Valentinus, and the Valentinians. 62 pages, pp. 161—222., with copious extracts.

The author at the beginning repeats that he intends to enumerate the heresies in succession.‡

* Kirchengeschichte, 2d edition, i. 764—774.

† 2d edition, pp. 297. 355. note 196., p. 365. note 207.

‡ The first period is to be corrected thus: "Ὅσα μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ ὁφείως τὰς ἀρχὰς παρεληφόσι, καὶ κατὰ τελείωσιν (τ. κατὰ μείωσιν) τῶν χρόνων εἰς φανερόν τὰς δόξας ἀνοσιῶς (τ. ἐκουσιῶς) προενεγκαμένοις (τ. πρσεν.) ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ οὕση πέμπτη τοῦ Ἑλέγχου (τ. τοὺς ἐλέγχους) τῶν αἰρέσεων ἐξεθέμην. As to the story of Apsethos the Libyan, and his parrots (p. 161.), the editor refers to Apostolius Prov. v. Ψαφῶν. Almost the same story is told of Hanno the Carthaginian, Ælian. Var. Hist. xiv. 30. Compare Justin. xxi. 4.; Plin. H N. viii. 16.

V. SIMON of *Gitta* in Samaria (pp. 161—177.: compare the *Gittean*, iv. pp. 51—90.; Irenæus, i. 23. § 3.). — The story of Peter's meeting him at Rome, where he died, is told here in a new form. Simon caused himself to be buried alive, promising to rise like Christ (p. 170.). This myth is just worth as much as any other about Simon's death: the utter diversity of the stories, and the fabulous nature of the whole, prove this. But how can men of sense conclude from this, that Simon must have been altogether a mythical person, and that we can have no writings belonging to him, or to his immediate disciples, who wrote down his (true or supposed) system?

There were such works.* As the principal book on Simon's doctrine, our author mentions the "Great Announcement, or Revelation" (*μεγάλη ἀπόφασις*) (pp. 165—168.), — a Gnostic work, full of Pagan fables, decidedly anti-Judaic and antinomian, favouring impurity. The Simonians had mysteries bearing the same character (p. 175.). The Valentinians took their start from these tenets; although nobody will believe that the "Great Announcement," in which some verses of Empedocles are quoted, was Simon's work, any more than that the books of the St. Simonian sect of our days are by St. Simon. Still Simon appears throughout, not as a mere impostor, but as a man combining with Christianity certain metaphysical tenets, which were formed by his im-

* Compare on this point Grabe, *Spicileg. Patrum*, i. 308—310.

mediate followers into a system, based, like that of all the Gnostics, upon the assumption of the evil principle as one of the primary acting causes of the universe. The "Great Announcement," bearing Simon's name, represents therefore the system of the Simonians in the first generation after him. The root of all existence (says this book, p. 163.) is infinite, and abides in man, who serves as its dwelling-house. It is of a double nature, latent and manifest: the first comprehends all that can be thought. *The word of God lives in man.* From that original root, the hidden principle, spring three pairs of manifestations:

Mind and Thought (νοῦς καὶ ἐπίνοια);

Voice and Name (φωνὴ καὶ ὄνομα);

Reasoning and Reflection (λογισμὸς καὶ ἐνθύμησις).

The infinite power (δύναμις) is in all these six roots, but potentially, not actually (δυνάμει οὐκ ἐνεργείᾳ, comp. p. 171.). In order not to perish, the infinite power must be typified, imaged (ἐξεικονίζεσθαι); otherwise it becomes extinct: whereas, if thus actuated, it loses nothing by this manifestation. By a progressive manifestation, those six roots become three other συζυγίαι, or pairs:

Heaven and Earth;

Sun and Moon;

Air and Water.

The infinite power working in all of them is called by a compound name: He who stands, has

*

stood, will stand (ὁ ἑστὼς, ὁ σταῖς, ὁ στησόμενος); a term dimly alluded to in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions, which say, that Simon called himself *Stans* (the Standing)*, and reminding us of Apocalypse, i. 8. Simon considered himself as in a special manner the manifestation of this infinite power (p. 175.): but we have already seen that this was, according to him, the general attribute of man when he had attained to knowledge, with a difference only in degree.

Simon endeavoured to explain by his theory the six days of the creation, and to build upon it a whole cosmogonic system (pp. 166—174.), for which he quotes the Pentateuch, the Psalms, and the Prophets. He also pretended to find proofs of his speculative system in St. Paul's writings, of which he quotes the First Epistle to the Corinthians. He tries likewise to show that the Greek mythology points to a similar theory. And here his mysterious Helen becomes the prominent figure. Helen is to him the successive incarnations of Beauty, dazzling the powers (δυνάμεις) that work on the earth. Every body knows the story that Simon carried about a woman, whom he said to be the newly embodied Helen of Troy. He had bought her, a forlorn slave, at Tyre, and said (or is reported to have said, for we have no extracts to vouch for this), that she was human nature redeemed by him. But what our book seems to prove (in spite of the con-

* Ritschl, p. 161.

fusion between reports, anecdotes, and extracts) is, that he called the ideal Helen, not his paramour, the "forlorn sheep," and that he placed her in connection with the daughter of the Canaanitish woman, whom Christ healed in passing by Tyre (Matt. xv.). It may be true, that Simon said he was his Helen's Saviour, and that he himself had come to Tyre to loosen her from her fetters, he himself being "the power over all." * It may be also true, that the Simonians worshipped two images, said to represent Simon and Helen, under the likeness of Jove and Minerva, and called them "Lord" and "Lady" (*κύριος, κυρία*); but our author himself is candid enough to add, they excluded from their sect any one who called those persons by the names of Simon and Helen (p. 176.). They considered it therefore clearly as a calumny. It may even be true, that the conduct of Simon and Helen was the cause or pretext of those scandalous orgies of the sect, of which our author gives us such shocking details. Indeed, it seems impossible to doubt, from the extracts here given (p. 175.), that some of them (in his time) blasphemously and satanically abused the most sacred for-

* Compare Acts viii. 10. : *Οὗτός ἐστιν ἡ δύναμις τοῦ Θεοῦ ἡ μεγάλη.* The history of this Helen of Simon is told by Irenæus, Tertullian, Eusebius, Epiphanius, and Theodoret. In the text of the latter it is only necessary to read *ἐταίραν* instead of *ἐτίραν*, to understand the sense. In Hippolytus' text, I read (p. 175. 14.) *Ὁ δὲ μιὰρὸς, ἐρασθεὶς τοῦ γυναιὸν*, instead of *ὁ δὲ ψυχρὸς ἐρασθεὶς τοῦ γ.*, which gives no sense whatever.

mularies of the ancient liturgy of the communion to designate and sanctify their horrible impurities*, justifying their conduct by saying, they were redeemed, washed, emancipated, free, saved, not by their works, but by grace. But all this does not prove in any way that Simon said of himself, or that the Simonians said, he, Simon, had appeared to the Jews as the Son, to the Samaritans as the Father, and to the Gentiles as the Holy Spirit. For the account of our author, though confused,—the quotations from the "Great Announcement" being here interrupted by the traditional story of Simon and Helen, and the scandals connected with it,—proves clearly that those words referred to Jesus, and not to Simon. For, after the exposition of the immoral principles of the Simonians, the extracts begin (p. 175. 24.) with sentences evidently relating to the life of Jesus. Having redeemed Helen, he thus vouchsafed salvation to mankind through his own intelligence (or by means of the knowledge he gave them of themselves). For the "angels having administered the world badly, in conse-

* Ταύτην εἶναι λέγοντες τὴν τελείαν ἀγάπην, καὶ τὸ "Ἅγιος ἅγιος" (or ἅγιον ἅγιον) καὶ "Ἀλλήλους ἀγιάζετε" (now unintelligibly printed καὶ τὸ ἅγιος ἅγιον . . . ἄλλ.ος ἀγιασθήσεται). These horrors reappear almost literally in the account of the "Infamies des Couvens," authentically detailed in the protocols of Ricci's visitation of the Tuscan convents, under Archduke Leopold, published by De Potter. It is not irrelevant to add, that the Bernese Protestant fanatics, whom I saw in 1841 in prison after their just condemnation, perverted in a similar way the sublimest passages of Scripture in their impure orgies.

quence of their love of power, Jesus came (Simon said) for the work of restoration, having been transformed, and made like to the principalities and powers, and to the angels. He thus appeared as a man, not being such, and seemed to suffer in Judea, although he did not really suffer*, but was manifested to the Jews as the Son, in Samaria as the Father, among the other nations as the Holy Spirit. He allows men to call him by whichever name they please." †

Now, how could Simon say of himself that he had suffered death in Judea? The whole account, therefore, refers to Jesus, and gives, originally at least, Simon's doctrine on the appearance, life, and sufferings of Christ. Thus that mysterious saying about the Son, Father, and Spirit, becomes intelligible. Jesus did call himself the Son in Judea. To the Samaritans he manifested the Father; and indeed in the words spoken to the Samaritan woman (St. John, iv. 21—23.), Jesus refers them to the Father, and the worship of the Father, and nothing is said about the Son. It is also quite intelligible how Simon could say, that Jesus appeared among the Gentiles as the Holy Spirit; for it was under the authority of the Holy Spirit, poured out upon them, and commu-

* *Καὶ παθεῖν ἐν τῇ Ἰουδαίᾳ δεδοκῆναι μὴ πεπονθότα*: the text is now deformed by having *καὶ* before *δεδοκῆναι*. There can be no doubt as to the sense, and I think none either as to the reading.

† Baur, *Die Christliche Gnosis*, p. 305.

nicated by them, that the Apostles preached Jesus among the Gentiles.

Of this I feel quite sure. But I confess I cannot understand the meaning of the "lost sheep," an evident allusion to the Parable, in connection with Helen, except by assuming that Simon combined the account of the Canaanitish woman with his allegory of humanity suffering under the fetters of slavery in the form of Helen. The mother crying out for help for her daughter possessed by the evil spirit (*δαιμονίζεται*, Matt. xv. 21.), the Apostles requesting Jesus to redeem her (*ἀπόλυσον αὐτήν*, v. 23.), and his first saying that he was sent to "the lost sheep" (*τὰ πρόβατα τὰ ἀπολωλότα*, v. 24.) of Israel, were allegorized by Simon, as alluding to human nature in this life, and to the work of redemption (*λύτρωσις*, pp. 174. 12., 175. 25.), and then mythicized by reference to Helen of Troy, Helen of the mysteries, Helen of Stesichorus, and finally Helen at Tyre, first healed by Jesus, and later found in another shape by Simon, who became her Deliverer.

I may therefore state this as the result of our criticism on this passage. There is a confusion in Hippolytus' account; but we can make out the truth, if we examine his words with care; whereas Irenæus, whom Eusebius and Theodoret have merely transcribed, gave the whole story in such a mutilated shape, that he rendered it very questionable as a fact, and made a correct explanation impossible.

On the whole, it is very interesting to compare our article with the corresponding chapters in Irenæus (i. 20, 21.). Such a comparison will leave no doubt as to the relation which our work bears to his, and as to the character of both writers. Hippolytus' account of facts is not only fuller and more explicit, but also more authentic; for he gives us extracts, and on the whole copious ones.

Moreover the accurate comparison of the text of the two authors is interesting, as proving, first, that Irenæus also had the "Great Announcement" before him, although he does not quote it. Several passages given in both as representing Simon's doctrine are literally the same, or almost so. In the second place, such a critical comparison will sometimes assist us in restoring the original Greek text of Irenæus, and oftener in rendering the very corrupt text of our author intelligible. I will illustrate this by placing in juxtaposition the text of the following two passages. (Iren. i. 20., and Hippolytus, vi. pp. 175, 176. 43—47.)

IRENÆUS.

Secundum enim ipsius gratiam salvari homines, sed non secundum operas justas. Nec enim esse naturaliter operationes justas, sed ex accidente: quemadmodum posuerunt, qui mundum fe-

HIPPOLYTUS.

Karà γὰρ τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν σώζεσθαι αὐτοὺς φάσκουσι. Μηδὲν (l. μηδένα) γὰρ εἶναι αἴτιον δίκης εἰ πράξει τις κακῶς (l. τι κακόν). οὐ γάρ ἐστι φύσει κακὸς (l. κακόν) ἀλλὰ θέσει. Ἔθεντο γὰρ (φησὶν)

<p>cerunt angeli, per hujusmodi præcepta in servitutum deducentes homines. Quapropter et solvi mundum et liberari eos qui sunt ejus ab imperio eorum qui mundum fecerunt reprobavit.</p>	<p>οἱ ἄγγελοι οἱ τὸν κόσμον ποιήσαντες ὅσα ἐβούλοντο, διὰ τῶν τοιούτων λόγων δουλῶν νομίζοντες τοὺς αὐτῶν ἀκούοντας. Φύσιν δὲ αὐθις λέγουσι τὸν κοσμὸν ἐπὶ λυτρώσει τῶν ἰδίων ἀνθρώπων.</p>
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The last words in Hippolytus baffle all interpretation. But you will immediately alter with me ΦΤCIN into ΔΤCΕIN, and, having done so, you will have not only the true text of Hippolytus, but also the original Greek of Irenæus, because the sentence is evidently the same. As to the words, *ab imperio eorum qui mundum fecerunt*, they are either added by way of explanation, or they are the translation of words omitted in the Greek text. But undoubtedly the latter is the case; and Hippolytus has himself abbreviated the extract from Irenæus, or a later transcriber has done so with the text of Hippolytus. We shall meet with unmistakable instances of both.*

At all events, this passage, like many others, bears out my argument respecting the relation between the two works and authors. To touch upon another argument, which I can only do justice to in my concluding letter, does it not strike you as one of the many internal proofs of the book's being written by a Roman, that our author abstains from repeating Justin the

* I restore the text thus: λύσειν δὲ αὐτόν, viz. Ἰησοῦν, οὗ Σίμωνα: as in the first sentence. Or λύσω . . . τοῦ κόσμου.

Martyr's fable? I mean the story, not disdained by Irenæus, and maintained by Tertullian, of the statue erected to Simon at Rome, the words *Semoni Sanco* having been unfortunately mistaken by that Eastern philosopher for *Simoni Sancto*. Hippolytus knew better, and was honest enough to write accordingly.

If, from the new facts we have before us, we look back to the present state of the discussions respecting this darkest of all points in early ecclesiastical history, we find that they militate, in many respects, against the hypotheses of the modern Tübingen school,—Baur, Strauss, Schweigler, and others. First of all, I cannot consent to regard Simon himself as merely a mythical person, the mythological fiction of one of the great family of the sun, moon, and stars, and his Helen as Selene or Luna. Her being called so in the “Clementine Homilies,” proves only that she was called so in the later stages of the Simonian heresy; which agrees with the whole character of the ingenious, but rather prolix novel, told in the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions. Simon of Gitta, the sorcerer of the Acts, appears to us, in what we hear of him from Hippolytus, as a real man, a sorcerer and magnetizer of a very questionable moral character, but who, according to the testimony of the old fathers, was worshipped in Samaria as a prophet, and as the incarnation of the highest power, and for a time startled the Romans, whether at Rome or in Asia is not certain.

He was, further, a heretical Christian ; he perverted the Gospel and the Jewish Scriptures; but he accepted them as revelations. Neander, therefore, has been wrong in striking him out of the list of heretics, as a person who had nothing to do with Christianity. Undoubtedly, like all the leading men of the Jewish and Pagan party of the time, who took their own views of Christ and Christianity, he had a speculative system of his own; but in this speculative system Christianity was no accidental ingredient. On the contrary, Christ and the Gospels and their preaching gave the impulse to the speculations embodied under Simon's name, and Christ's person formed the centre of them. Simon himself, I believe, no more wrote a speculative book, than Pythagoras or Socrates did: but, as we know that Menander, his disciple, and the leader of his school, who lived and taught at Antioch, was a writer, and inculcated the Simonian doctrine, it seems to me reasonable to assume, that the "Great Announcement," or "Pro-nunciamiento," of the Simonians, although bearing Simon's name, was written by Menander, or at least by some cotemporary of his. Now, as Simon, the master, belonged to the Petrine and Pauline age, Menander and his book must belong to that of St. John, or to the time between the years 70 and 100; and it would be absurd to suppose, that a book written in Simon's own name or at least generally considered as the representation of his personal sys-

tem, should be later than Menander's exposition of the principles of that sect, if, indeed, Menander's doctrinal work was not this very "Announcement." In the book ascribed to Simon, the Gospel of St. John seems to me to be alluded to by the expression, that Jesus appeared to the Samaritans as the Father. If this supposition is correct, it would be a direct proof of the undoubted fact, that the book was not Simon's; for Simon cannot be supposed to have lived to the end of the first century, when the Gospel of St. John was written. Indeed, the uniform tradition is, that Paul and Peter outlived Simon; who must therefore have died before the year 65. If it be assumed that there is no allusion to the fourth Gospel in the "Great Announcement," this must be said to be in keeping with the pretension that it was Simon's book. A Pauline epistle (the first to the Corinthians) certainly is quoted in the extracts (p. 167. 10.). This is very natural, for the same reason: a book purporting to be written by Simon might very well quote an epistle of St. Paul's, although not a Gospel written between 90 and 100.

I must, on this occasion, return for a moment to the bearing of these new facts upon the prologue of St. John's Gospel. Whatever may be thought of the influence of Philonian speculations upon the evangelical doctrine concerning the Logos, and upon the wording of that apostolic prologue, I feel sure that the heretical speculations about the Logos could

never have arisen, but through the powerful effect produced in the Eastern world, from the centres of Jerusalem and of Antioch, by the unparalleled personality and history of Jesus of Nazareth, the Christ. The *Logos*, as God's eternal thought or consciousness of himself, before all time, was known well enough to the Alexandrian Jews, even at the time of Christ's birth, as Philo's writings prove. But that the *Logos* was embodied in a real man, and had become personal, this, and this alone, was the all-pervading intellectual leaven which produced that wonderful fermentation in the Eastern world, and this fermentation became in the schools of the Gnostics an entirely cosmogonical and mythological process, through a constant and progressive hypostasis or personification of abstract notions, or, as it were, by a constant transformation of abstract neuters into mythological masculines.

This mythological process was the natural produce of two elements. The one was the personality of Christ, and the other was the idea of the *Logos*, elevated into a moving principle, identified with the human mind. All mythology arose in a similar way, although, being ignorant of the historical ingredient, we cannot analyse the whole, and show in detail what portions are historical, and what ideal. But in this case we are enabled to prove what the historical element is; and this forms one of the distinguishing features of Christianity.

The discovery of Hippolytus' work throws also a new light upon an obscure point of the Ignatian controversy. We certainly must ascribe to pure Simonism, that is, to the Simonian heresy unmixed with Valentinianism, the system of Gnostic evolutions, of which *Sigê*, Silence, is a primitive element. For in the extracts from the "Great Announcement" we find the following words, evidently the beginning of a solemn address and recapitulation (p. 173. 2.) :—"To you then I say what I say, and write what I write. The writing is this. There are two offshoots accompanying all the æons, having neither beginning nor end, from one root, which is power (*potentia*), *Sigê* (Silence), invisible, incomprehensible. Of these two suckers, the one appears above, and this is the Great Power, the Mind of the Universe, directing all things, male: the other appears below, the Great Thought (*ἐπίνοια*), female, producing all things. Hence, being thus ranged one against the other, they form a syzygia (a pair, *copula*), and make manifest the intermediate interval, the incomprehensible air, having neither beginning nor limit; and in this air is the Father, supporting all things, and nourishing that which has a beginning and end. He is He who stands, who has stood, and who will stand, being the male and female power, according to the infinite pre-existing power, which has neither beginning nor end, being in solitude (*μονότητι*). For the Thought, which was in solitude, coming forth from thence, became

two. And He was one; for having the Thought within himself, he was alone, not however the first, though preexisting; but, being manifested by himself, he became the second. But neither was he called the Father, before she, the Thought, called him Father."

This is not Valentinianism; but there is the principle of the preexisting supreme power, Silence; the Word or the Thought had not yet appeared.

Now what follows from this? That Ignatius, who certainly may have read the "Great Announcement" as well as St. John, might have alluded to it in a letter to the Magnesians, if he ever wrote it. If, therefore, the text of the Seven Letters is (as I believe, with the most eminent critics of our age, that it is) the work of an impostor, who wrote after Ignatius' death under his name, it is very natural that he should make Ignatius allude to a heresy which he may have known, but which certainly had not ceased to be powerful. But such a mention can no more prove, against good evidence to the contrary, that Ignatius did write that letter, than the allusion contained in it to the early Judaizing Sabbatarians and Docetæ does. I have, in my "Letters on Ignatius*," assumed these two heresies as possibly older than Ignatius' death; and I now believe also that of the Sigê to be so.

If any further proof were required of Pearson's explanation of the Sigê in the "Epistle to the Mag-

* p. 68.

nesians" (p. 8.) being untenable, this passage would suffice. Feeling the difficulty about the *Sigê* as a Valentinian term, Pearson resolved to deny altogether that Ignatius alluded to that term in this passage. According to him, the words, "the Eternal Word, not proceeding from Silence," mean that the Word which is eternal, did not appear (as the human word does) after there had been silence before. This is the argument of a special pleader, not of a historical critic, and it is not wanted. The *Sigê* is the *Sigê*. She is preceding, not appearing, and is not Valentinian's, but Simon's.

I believe, therefore, that the Ignatian forger knew the "Great Announcement." A proof of this may also be found in the "Letter to the Trallians." In the 11th chapter of that fictitious epistle, the passage before us, which I have just quoted from Simon's "Great Apophasis," seems to be alluded to by the words "offshoots" and "root," there used, with an apparent allusion to the heretical terminology, in an ironical sense.*

* Having touched upon the Ignatian controversy, I take this opportunity of saying a word to a learned author who lately has treated this question in the "Quarterly Review." He says that I seem to have miscalculated the effect of my arguments in favour of Cureton's Syriac text, for Baur says, in his essay upon the subject, that he believes neither in the authority of the one text nor in that of the other. I confess, the argument seems to me rather blunt, having no argumentative edge in it at all. At all events, I beg to observe to that critic, that I have not written

If the article on Simon is quite original, containing authentic extracts wholly wanting in Irenæus and

and published my Ignatian researches, any more than others, in order to produce an effect upon this or that person, but to satisfy my own mind, by expressing a conscientious conviction on a point on which I thought I had something to say.

I confess, the arguments which that critic brings forward against Cureton's text (since found in a second Syriac manuscript), and against Cureton's arguments, seem to me to savour much of a preconceived opinion respecting the case itself, or to betray an overrated feeling of the vocation of the critic to question Cureton's competency to judge of this question. But what shall I say of Professor Petermann, who has published an Armenian translation of the Seven Letters, which, if the Syrian text of the three letters is genuine, are as regards these three an interpolation, and a forgery as regards the remaining four? Now, it seems to me a simple truism, unworthy of a serious writer, to say that if the Greek text of the Seven Epistles is genuine, the translation of the same is genuine also. This is begging the question at issue. It is quite a secondary question, whether (as is the most natural supposition, confirmed by all the other Armenian translations of the works of the Greek fathers) this translation has been made from the Greek original, or from a Syriac translation. But it appears to me scarcely serious to say: there are the Seven Letters in Armenian, and I maintain, they prove that Cureton's text is an incomplete extract, because, I think, I have found some Syriac idioms in the Armenian text! Well, if that is not a joke, it simply proves, according to ordinary logic, that the Seven Letters must have once been translated into Syriac. But how can it prove that the Greek original of this supposed Syriac version is the genuine text, and not an interpolated and partially forged one? The Seven Letters and the forged text go together: either there have been no interpolation and forgery at all, or the Seven Letters, neither more nor less (at that time), were the produce of this imposition. I take it for granted, Professor Petermann is a

elsewhere, and giving us an entirely new view of the history and character of the Simonian school, the next article is no less so.

VI. VALENTINUS (pp. 177—198.).—After an introductory dissertation on those leading principles of the Pythagorean and Platonic philosophy, from which Valentinus is stated to have borrowed his speculative ideas (pp. 177—183.), our author gives us copious extracts from Valentinus' own work or works, and such as enable us for the first time to know what dogmas he laid down on the principal speculative questions. Most probably all these extracts have been taken from Valentinus' great doctrinal work, the "Sophia," which our author does not name, supposing his readers to know it, as indeed it had the admiration as well as the malediction of the later fathers, of Jerome in particular. Of this work we do not know a single sentence with certainty; as Irenæus, and those who followed and copied him, not only never clearly distinguish between that which belongs to Valentinus personally, and that which belongs to his followers, but scarcely give any genuine extract (*κατὰ λέξιν*, literally) at all. Great, therefore, were my hopes, in 1842, that the ancient Coptic manuscript of the British Museum, inscribed Sophia, might be

good Armenian scholar: I confess I thought he had still to prove that he possessed critical judgment; and now I fear his Ignatian production fully proves that he possesses none. There is absolutely no argument in all that he has said.

a translation, or at least an extract, from that lost text-book of Gnosticism: but unfortunately the accurate and trustworthy labours of that patient and conscientious Coptic scholar, Dr. Schwarze, so early taken away from us, have proved to me (for I have seen and perused his manuscript, which I hope will soon appear), that this Coptic treatise is a most worthless (I trust, purely Coptic) offshoot of the Marcasian heresy, of the latest and stupidest mysticism about letters, sounds, and words.

Irenæus treats of Valentinus personally only in the first paragraph of the eleventh chapter of his first book. According to his exposition, Valentinus began his system by establishing a nameless *dyad*, or double principle, of which the one was called the Unspeakable, the other Silence (*Sigê*): out of this primitive dyad, he said, another dyad sprang, of whom he called the one the Father, the other Truth. This tetrad produced first the Logos and Life (*Zôe*, a feminine), and then Man and the Church (*Ecclesia*, the people elect, the saved human race). Thus he arrived at the first ogdoad.

In a like manner the common Valentinian system (i. § 1.) proceeds. It begins with "the æon who was before," who was called the Forefather (*Propator*), and the Abyss (*Bythos*), invisible, inaccessible, eternal, and for many æons in deep solitude. With him co-existed Thought (*Ennoia*), also called Charis or Grace, *Sigê* or Silence. These generated the Mind (*Nous*),

who, being inferior to none but to the Father, was called the Only-begotten (*Monogenes*), and the Father, and the Beginning (*Archê*, principle) of all. With him was procreated Truth. . . . No æon knew the Father except the only-begotten Son. (§ 2.)

Hippolytus, in his fourteen pages about Valentinus, gives us full eight (pp. 186—194.) of Valentinus' own words; and these eight pages are not detached sentences, picked out in the ordinary inquisitorial way, to prove what you want the heretic to have said, but connected passages, if not in fact one uninterrupted passage. These extracts contain the proof of what Valentinus' own cosmogonic system was, and show the exact truth of what Hippolytus premises in a few words, as the substance of Valentinus' own system, which as to this point he identifies with that of Heraclæon, Ptolemæus, and other strict followers.* Hippolytus' words are: "The beginning of all is to them the *Monad*, unbegotten, incorruptible, above all conception and comprehension, generative, and the cause of the origin (genesis) of all. This monad is called the *Father*. But these systems differ greatly: some keep to this first principle alone, retaining the Pythagorean doctrine in its purity; others think it necessary to add a female principle, in order to arrive at the procreation of the Universe; and this they call the *Syzygos* or *Consort*." The exposition of the

* Compare, about Ptolemæus, our article IX.; and about him and Heraclæon, Iren. ii. 4., Epiph. Hær. xv.

strict Pythagorean system is this: "Originally nothing existed but the Father, unbegotten, without place or time, without counsellor or any being that can be subject to perception. He was alone, solitary, as they say, and reposing alone in himself. But, being generative, and not loving his solitary existence, he willed that what was the most beautiful and perfect in him should produce and bring forth. For (says Valentinus) he was all Love (*Agapê*); and Love is not Love unless there is something Beloved." The Father himself, therefore (continues the extract), brought forth and procreated, as he was alone, Mind (*Nous*) and Truth, that is, a dyad, which is the Sovereign and Mother of all the æons within the *Plerôma* (the Plenitude) which they reckon up.

And then follows the well-known system of progressive evolutions.

I must refrain from entering into this further exposition, which will soon be made the subject of deep inquiries and discussions, both speculative and doctrinal. All I wish to state is, that the method of our work is better, and the research deeper, than that of Irenæus, and the whole exposition our only authentic one, as far as Valentinus himself and his stricter followers are concerned.

But I must direct your attention to a historical point mentioned by Hippolytus at the end of his exposition respecting the divisions of the Valentinian school. The controverted question being whether

the body of Jesus was *psychic* or spiritual (*pneumatic*), the Occidental school took the first view, the Oriental school (*Ἀνατολική διδασκαλία*) the second. The authors of the first were "of Italy;" and among them Heracleon and Ptolemæus were conspicuous. Of those of the Oriental school he mentions *Axionikos* and *Ardesianes*, of whom the former is entirely unknown; the latter may be the same as Bardesianes the Armenian, mentioned in a later passage (p. 253.), and then that Valentinian writer lived as late as 172; for Bardesianes the Armenian must mean Bardesanes of Edessa, which lies near the frontier of Armenia. This piece of information respecting the two schools throws light on one of the most obscure points of the doctrine and writings of Clement of Alexandria. I mean his "Extracts from Theodotus, or the Oriental School;" a most important chapter, which, in my unpublished "Restoration of the Eight Books of the Hypotyposes of Clemens" (of which the first book is hidden under a false title), I believe I have proved, forms an integral part of those esoteric lectures, which are the deepest and most instructive work of the great Alexandrian teacher.

But I must now proceed, without further investigation of Valentinus' speculations, with the text of our thirty-two heresies.

If the two articles on Simon and Valentinus are original, when compared with Irenæus, the whole

remainder of the sixth book (pp. 198—222.) is almost entirely copied or extracted from the first book of his master. It is not the less curious for that; and, as far as my immediate argument goes, it is more important even than those original articles. For it proves most palpably, that our author extracted Irenæus; and this is exactly what Photius says, that Hippolytus himself had stated he did in his work against all the heresies. Who, then, will believe that we read here the book of another author of that time, who had written a book (never mentioned) of the same title; and who can doubt that we have the work of Hippolytus before us?

VII. SECUNDUS. — Five lines only (p. 198.), and these almost literally copied from Irenæus, i. 5. § 2., with the sole addition, that he was a cotemporary of Ptolemæus. Here are the two texts:—

IRENÆUS.

Σεκοῦνδος

λέγει εἶναι τὴν πρώτην Ὀγδοάδα Τετράδα δεξιὰν καὶ Τετράδα ἀριστεράν, οὕτως παραδιδόντες καλεῖσθαι, τὴν μὲν μίαν Φῶς, τὴν δὲ ἄλλην Σκότος· τὴν δὲ ἀποστᾶσαν τε καὶ ὑστερήσασαν δύναμιν μὴ εἶναι ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων ἀλλὰ . . . (Latin text: sed a fructibus eorum.)

HIPPOLYTUS.

Σεκοῦνδος μὲν τις κατὰ τὸ αὐτὸ ἅμα τῷ Πτολεμαίῳ γινόμενος. οὗτος λέγει Τετράδα εἶναι δεξιὰν καὶ Τετράδα ἀριστεράν, καὶ Φῶς καὶ Σκότος· καὶ τὴν ἀποστᾶσαν δὲ καὶ ὑστερήσασαν δύναμιν οὐκ ἀπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Αἰώνων λέγει γεγενῆσθαι, ἀλλὰ ἀπὸ τῶν καρπῶν αὐτῶν.

We have here an extract, in which the omission of the words *τὴν πρώτην Ὀγδοάδα* is no improvement.

VIII. EPIPHANES.—Nine lines, copied in the same manner from what follows in Irenæus, after the words on Secundus. Both in Irenæus, and in our manuscript, the well-known proper name of this Gnostic has been taken for an adjective: a misunderstanding which, I am surprised, is not corrected by our learned editor, any more than by Grabe and his predecessors who did not observe that the old Latin interpreter expressed it so well that he translated it.*

IRENÆUS (i. 5. § 2.).

Ἄλλος (Latin text: *Alius vero quidam qui et clarus est magister ipsorum*)
εἰς ὑψηλότερον καὶ γνωστικώτερον ἐπεκτεινόμενος τὴν πρώτην Τετράδα οὕτως ἔστι τις πρὸ πάντων προαρχὴ προανεννοήτος, ἄρρητός τε καὶ ἀνονόμαστος, ἣν ἐγὼ μονότητα ἀριθμῶ. ταύτῃ τῇ μονότητι συννύσκει δύνάμεις, ἣν καὶ αὐτὴν ὀνομάζω ἐνότητα. αὕτη ἡ ἐνότης, ἥ τε μονότης, τὸ ἐν οὖσαι προήκοντο μὴ προέμεναι ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πάντων νοητῶν, ἀγέννητόν τε καὶ ἀόρατον, ἣν ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος μονάδα καλεῖ. ταύτῃ δὲ μονάδι συννύσκει δύνάμεις ὁμοούσιος αὐτῇ, ἣν

HIPPOLYTUS (198. 98.—199. 8.).

Ἄλλος δὲ τις Ἐπιφανὴς διδάσκαλος αὐτῶν οὕτως λεγεί·

Ἦν ἡ πρώτη ἀρχὴ ἀνεννόητος, ἄρρητός τε καὶ ἀνωνόμαστος, ἣν μονότητα καλεῖ. ταύτῃ [δὲ συννύσκει] εἰν δύνάμιν, ἣν ὀνομάζω ἐνό[τητα]. Αὕτη ἡ ἐνότης εἴτε μονότης, προήκοντο μὴ προέμεναι ἀρχὴν ἐπὶ πάντων νοητῶν ἀγέννητόν τε καὶ ἀόρατον, ἣν μονάδα καλεῖ. Ταύτῃ τῇ δυνάμει συννύσκει δύνάμεις ὁμοούσιος αὐτῇ (t. ὁμο

* Compare Tertullian, *Contra Valentinianos*, c. 37.

καὶ αὐτὴν ὀνομάζω τὸ ἔν. αὐ- ούσιος· αὐτῇ) ὀνομάζω τὸ ἔν.
ται αἱ δυνάμεις, ἣ τε μονότης Αὐταὶ αἱ τέσσαρες δυνάμεις
καὶ ἐνότης, μονάς τε καὶ τὸ ἔν προήκαντο τὰς λοιπὰς τῶν
προήκαντο τὰς λοιπὰς προβο- αἰώνων προβολὰς.
λὰς τῶν αἰώνων.

(Here follow declamations.)

(Left out by Hippolytus.)

Then the text proceeds in both as follows : —

IRENÆUS (i. 5. § 3.).

"Ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν αὐτῶν τὴν
πρώτην καὶ ἀρχέγονον (Lat.
archegonum) Ὁγδοάδα τού-
τοις τοῖς ὀνόμασι κεκλήκασιν ;
πρώτον προαρχὴν, ἔπειτα ἀνε-
νόητον, τὴν δὲ τρίτην ἀρρήτον,
καὶ τὴν τετάρτην ἀόρατον· καὶ
ἐκ μὲν τῆς πρώτης προαρχῆς
προβεβλήσθαι πρῶτῳ καὶ πέμ-
πτῳ ἀρχὴν, ἐκ δὲ (τῆς ἀρ-
χῆς) τῆς ἀνεγνωστοῦ δευτέρῳ
καὶ ἕκτῳ τόπῳ ἀκατάληπτον·
ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀρρήτου τρίτῳ καὶ
ἐβδόμῳ τόπῳ ἀνωνόμαστον, ἐκ
δὲ τῆς ἀοράτου ἀγέννητον
πλήρωμα τῆς πρώτης ὀγδο-
άδος. ταύτας βούλονται τὰς
δυνάμεις προὔπαρχειν τοῦ Βυ-
θοῦ καὶ τῆς Σιγῆς, ἵνα τελεί-
ων τελειότεροι φανῶσιν ὄντες
καὶ Γνωστικῶν γνωστικώτεροι·
πρὸς οὓς δικαίως ἂν τις ἐπι-
φωνήσῃεν· ὧ ληρολόγοι σο-
φισταί.

Καὶ γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
Βυθοῦ πολλὰ καὶ διάφοροι
γινῶμαι παρ' αὐτοῖς· οἱ μὲν γὰρ

HIPPOLYTUS (199. 8—16).

"Ἄλλοι δὲ πάλιν αὐτῶν τὴν
πρώτην καὶ ἀρχαίγονον (I.
ἀρχέγονον) Ὁγδοάδα τούτοις
τοῖς ὀνόμασιν ἐκάλεσαν

τετάρτην ἀόρατον. Καὶ ἐκ
μὲν τῆς πρώτης προαρχῆς προ-
βεβλήσθαι πρῶτῳ καὶ πέμπτῳ
τόπῳ ἀρχὴν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς ἀνε-
γνωστοῦ, δευτέρῳ καὶ ἕκτῳ [τό-
πῳ], ἀκατάληπτον· ἐκ δὲ τῆς
ἀρρήτου, τρίτῳ καὶ ἐβδόμῳ
τόπῳ, ἀνωνόμαστον· ἐκ δὲ τῆς
ἀοράτου, ἀγέννητον πλήρωμα
τῆς πρώτης ὀγδοάδος. Ταύτας
βούλονται τὰς δυνάμεις προ-
ὑπάρχειν τοῦ Βυθοῦ καὶ τῆς
Σιγῆς (t. γῆς).

"Ἄλλοι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ
Βυθοῦ ἀδιαφόρως κινούμενοι,
οἱ μὲν αὐτὸν ἄζυγον λέγουσι,

<p>αὐτὸν ἄζυγον λέγουσι, μήτε ἄρρενα μήτε θήλειαν μήτε ὄλως ὄντα τι· ἄλλοι δὲ ἄρρε- νόθηλυν αὐτὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι, ἔρμαφροδίτου φύσιν αὐτῷ πε- ριάπτοντες. Σιγὴν δὲ πάλιν ἄλλοι συνεννέτιν αὐτῷ προσ- άπτουσιν, ἵνα γένηται πρώτη συζυγία.</p>	<p>μήτε ἄρρενα μήτε θήλυν. ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν Σιγὴν θήλειαν αὐτῷ συμπαρεῖναι καὶ εἶναι ταύτην πρώτην συζυγίαν.</p>
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This extract is of great interest for judging of the character of our text. It is quite clear that between the words *ἐκάλεσαν* and *τετάρτην ἀόρατον* the words in Irenæus' text from *κεκλήκασι* to *ἀόρατον* have been left out, but scarcely by Hippolytus; for the text as it stands gives no sense. He may have marked them in his autograph for the copyist thus, *ἐκάλεσαν . . . τετάρτην ἀόρατον*; or they may simply have been omitted by careless extracting of a copyist. We shall soon see that we have, at all events, not everywhere the complete text of our author.

IX. PTOLEMÆUS (pp. 199. 20., 200. 36.). — An article on Ptolemæus follows also here in Irenæus. Hippolytus extracted or rather reproduced it, as far as it contains facts: —

IRENÆUS (I. 6. § 1.)

Hi vero qui sunt circa Ptolemæum scientiores, duas conjuges habere eum [Bytho] dicunt, quas et dispositiones vocant, Ennoeam et Thelesin. Πρῶτον γὰρ ἐνε-
νοήθη προβαλεῖν (sicut di-

HIPPOLYTUS.

Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Πτολεμαῖον δύο συζύγους αὐτὸν ἔχειν λέγουσιν, ὥς καὶ διαθέσεις καλοῦσι "Εννοϊαν καὶ Θέλῃ-
σιν. Πρῶτον γὰρ ἐνενοήθη τι προβαλεῖν, ὥς φασιν, ἔπειτα

cunt), εἶτα ἠθέλησε· διο καὶ ἠθέλησε. Διο καὶ τῶν δύο τῶν δύο διαθέσεων τούτων, ἢ τούτων διαθέσεων καὶ δυναμέων, τῆς Ἑννοίας καὶ τῆς Θελήσεως ὥστε συγκραθεισῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας, τῇ τῆς Θελήσεως, ὥσπερ κραθεισῶν εἰς ἀλλήλας, ἢ προβολῇ τοῦ Μονογενοῦς καὶ τοῦ τε μονογενοῦς καὶ τῆς ἀληθείας κατὰ συζυγίαν ἐγένετο, ὥς τινὰς τύπους καὶ εἰκόνας τῶν δύο διαθέσεων τοῦ πατρὸς διελθεῖν ἐκ τῶν ἀοράτων ὁρατάς, τοῦ μὲν Θελήματος τὸν νοῦν, τῆς δὲ ἑννοίας τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τοῦ ἐπιγεννητοῦ Θελήματος, ὁ ἀρρῆνικός· τῆς δὲ ἀγεννήτου ἑννοίας ὁ θῆλυς ἐπὶ τὸ θέλημα ὥσπερ τοῦ Θελήματος· τὸ θέλημα τοῖνυν δύναμις ἐγένετο τῆς Ἑννοίας. ἐνενοεί μὲν γὰρ ἡ Ἑννοία τὴν προβολήν· οὐ μὲν τοι προβαλεῖν αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἐδύνατο ἂ ἐνενοεί. ὅτε δὲ ἡ τοῦ Θελήματος δύναμις ἐπεγένετο, τότε ὁ ἐνενοεί, προέβαλε.

This article is followed in Irenæus, after some of his wonted exclamations, by a succinct mention of the heresy of the *Colorbasiens*, which name is preserved by Epiphanius (Hær. xv.), in giving the Greek text. Now I can easily prove that an article on *Colarbasus* (for thus he writes the name), must have followed in our author too. Not only does the

index of the chapters, prefixed to this sixth book as to all the others, mention Colarbasus with Marcus, as treated of in the fifth chapter (the authors just named, Secundus, Ptolemæus, Heracleon, forming the fourth); but our author himself concludes this sixth book with the following words:—"I believe I have now sufficiently exhibited their worthless doctrines, and clearly shown whose disciples they are;" Marcus as well as Colarbasus, who were the followers of Valentinus' school. But not one word does he say of Colarbasus, according to our text. Nor can it be maintained that he meant to say those two taught exactly the same doctrine, and therefore that, having treated largely on Marcus, he had also said enough of Colarbasus. We know the contrary: Colarbasus gave a new turn to Valentinianism. Nothing remains, therefore, but to say, that Hippolytus did insert an article on Colarbasus, and that here too we have only an extract of his original text, and a very careless one. The question is simply, whether that article was placed before or after Marcus? I do not hesitate to say, after Marcus; for our author follows, as much as he can, the chronological order; whereas Irenæus does the reverse. In the last articles Hippolytus had closely copied Irenæus, because Secundus, Ptolemæus, and Heracleon were immediate followers of Valentinus, and preceded Marcus; but Colarbasus was the disciple of Marcus, as Epiphanius clearly states, who gives Irenæus' own words about

him (Hær. xv. 1.), as they are found in the Latin text of that father.

The tenth heresy, therefore, in Hippolytus, was that of Marcus, and Colarbasus the eleventh.

X. MARCUS, and his followers the MARCOSIANS.—This article is remarkable for our argument on the relation which Hippolytus' work bears to Irenæus, in a peculiar way. Our last articles were almost copies: here we have an extract very much abridged. To explain the nature of this extract, I must first state that Irenæus has devoted to this sect nine entire chapters (i. 13—21.), in about ninety folio pages. This long treatise consists of two distinct parts, quotations from the works of Marcus or of the Marcosians and dissertations or declamations against them. Now, if Hippolytus gives the first substantially, and omits the others entirely, he not only acts as a sensible author, but does exactly what he did in the articles I have this moment laid before you. That is also what Photius says Hippolytus declared he meant to do. But I can now show you that our author says so himself. For having gone through the extracts from Irenæus, and added his own researches and his criticism upon Irenæus, he concludes the sixth book by saying that the Valentinians had always gone on glorying in their inventions, the more absurd they were; and that, having "made out every thing from the Scriptures in accordance with the numbers set forth (the cabalistic numbers),

they charged Moses and the prophets with those inventions, pretending that these speak allegorically about the measures of the æons. Now, I have not thought fit to give an account of such senseless and incoherent things, the blessed presbyter Irenæus having refuted their doctrines already with great skill and pains. I have taken from him the account of their inventions, having shown before that they have stolen them from the Pythagorean philosophy and the subtleties of the astrologers, and then fathered them upon Christ." * Then follows the concluding sentence given above, in which he says he had explained the systems of Marcus and Colarbasus.

Could we ever have expected to find such an explicit proof that the book now discovered is the same which Photius read, and which bore the title of Hippolytus' work mentioned by Eusebius and Jerome?

Hippolytus' account of Marcus is this:—Marcus, he says, was simply a magician, or, to speak plainly, a trickster and conjuror, using also what we call animal magnetism. Hippolytus had exposed and explained some of his tricks in the book "Against the Magi" (*κατὰ τῶν Μάγων*). The impostor used these tricks in the very consecration of the communion. In speaking of these exposures, Hippolytus says, he had not divulged the last secret word,

* This passage is very corrupt in our text.

which was to give the key to all, but which was only pronounced to very eminent personages, or in the hour of death. "I have kept silence on this point," says Hippolytus, p. 202., "that nobody may believe I intend to deal maliciously with them: that is not at all our aim, but only to show whence they have taken their opinions. That blessed elder*, Irenæus, has spoken out more openly in a general manner about these doings of theirs. Some have denied having received that word; they are always taught to deny it. We have therefore made it our object to inquire more accurately, and to find out more minutely, what is delivered to them in the first bath (baptism), and what in the second, which they call the redemption, or absolution (*apolytrōsis*); and we have penetrated even into their secret. But this indulgence shall be shown to Valentinus and his school." A sentiment of delicacy, of which there are few instances in his predecessors (among whom is Irenæus, who protests that he does not believe what is told of the impurities of the Valentinians), and none in his followers.

The text goes on exposing (pp. 203—221.), almost entirely in the author's own words, the absurdity and fallacy of Marcus' mystic play with the twenty-four letters of the alphabet. You will not expect me to discuss this stuff filling eighteen pages.

* *πρεσβύτερος*, in its eminent sense, as a person who had been acquainted with the witnesses who had seen Christ.

But it is well to observe, that this authentic exposition is a new proof of Hippolytus' authorship, and that his work is sometimes an extract, sometimes an enlargement, of Irenæus, in the way in which I have endeavoured to establish this already.

XI. COLARBASUS and the COLARBASIANS.—This article was, undoubtedly, extracted from Irenæus, i. 6. § 2., but is left out in our text. The Greek text of Irenæus ran thus, according to Epiphanius (i. tom. 3. xxxv.), and the Latin translation:—

IRENÆI interpres Latinus.

Qui autem prudentiores putantur (l. prud. se putant) illorum esse, primam Octonationem, non gradatim, alterum ab altero *Æonem* emissum dicunt, sed simul et in unum *Æonum* emissionem a Propatore et Ennea ejus, cum crearentur, ipsi se obstetricasse affirmant. Et jam non ex Logo et Zoe Anthropon et Ecclesiam, sed ex Anthropon et Ecclesia Logon et Zoen dicunt generatos, in hunc modum, dicentes: Quando cogitavit aliquid emittere Propator, hoc Pater vocatus est, at ubi quæ emisit vera fuerunt, hoc Alethia voca-

IRENÆUS apud Epiphanium.

[Οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Κολάρβασον] τὴν πρώτην Ὅγδοάδα, οὐ καθ' ὑπόβασιν ἄλλον ὑπὸ ἄλλου, ἀλλ' ὁμοῦ καὶ εἰς ἀπαξ τὴν τῶν ἐξ αἰώνων προβολὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ Προπάτορος καὶ Ἐννοίας αὐτοῦ τετέχθαι, ὥς αὐτὸς μαιωσάμενος διαβεβαιούται. καὶ οὐκέτι ἐκ λόγου καὶ ζωῆς ἀνθρωπον καὶ ἐκκλησίαν, καὶ ἐξ ἀνθρώπου, ὥς οἱ ἄλλοι, καὶ ἐκκλησίας λόγον καὶ ζωὴν φάσι τετέχθαι αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ· ἀλλὰ ἐτέρῳ τρόπῳ τοῦτο λέγουσιν, ὅτι ὅπερ ἐνενοήθη προβαλεῖν ὁ Προπάτωρ, τοῦτο πατὴρ ἐκλήθη. ἐπεὶ δὲ ὁ προεβάλετο ἀλήθεια ἦν, τοῦτο

tum est. Cum autem voluit semet ipsum ostendere, hoc Anthropos dictus est. Quos autem præcogitaverat posteaquam emisit, hoc Ecclesia vocata est. Locutus est Anthropos (l. Et Anthr.) Logon, hic est primogenitus Filius. Subsequitur autem Logon Zoe, et sic prima Octonatio completa est.

ἀλήθεια ὠνομάσθη. ὅτε οὖν ἤθελησεν ἐπιδείξαι αὐτὸν, τοῦτο ἄνθρωπος ἐλέχθη. οὗς δὲ προελογίσατο ὅτε προέβαλε, τοῦτο ἐκκλησία ὠνομάσθη. καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος τὸν λόγον, οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρωτότοκος υἱός. ἐπακολουθεῖ δὲ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ ἡ ζωή. καὶ οὕτως πρώτη ὁγδοὰς συνετελέσθη.

I believe Hippolytus' article was shorter, but substantially the same. His extracts must have stopped here: what follows in Irenæus (§ 7.) bears in the Latin text the title, "On the Doctrine of the Colarbasians," but treats in a more general sense of the Valentinian doctrine respecting the Saviour (Σωτήρ). Some of the tenets here mentioned are incompatible with Colarbasus' system, especially the account of the ten æons, — a number abhorrent from it.

XII. CARPOCRATES (pp. 255, 256., compared with Iren. i. 24.). — This article is from beginning to end extracted from Irenæus, but with curious omissions. The relation of the two accounts to each other presents so many interesting points, both for the criticism of the Carpocratian system, and for that of our work and its author, that I must give the two texts again in juxtaposition: —

IRENÆUS (i. 24.).

Carpocrates autem et qui ab eo, mundum et ea quæ in eo sunt, ab Angelis multo inferioribus ingenito Patre factum esse dicunt. Jesum autem e Joseph natum, et qui similis reliquis hominibus fuerit, distasse a reliquis secundum id, quod anima ejus firma et munda cum esset, commemorata fuerit quæ visa essent sibi in ea circumlatione, quæ fuisset ingenito Deo: et propter hoc ab eo missam esse ei virtutem, uti mundi fabricatores effugere posset, et per omnes transgressa, et in omnibus liberata, ascenderet ad Deum, et eas, quæ similia ei amplecterentur, similiter. Jesu autem dicunt animam in Judæorum consuetudine nutritam contempsisse eos, et propter hoc virtutes accepisse, per quas evacuavit quæ fuerunt in poenis passionibus, quæ inerant hominibus. Ea igitur, quæ similiter atque illa Jesu anima, potest contemnere mundi fabricatores archontas, similiter accipere virtutes ad

HIPPOLYTUS (pp. 255, 256.).

Καρποκράτης τὸν μὲν κόσμον καὶ τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ὑπὸ ἀγγέλων πολὺ ὑποβεβηκότων τοῦ ἀγενήτου Πατρὸς γεγενῆσθαι λέγει, τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ γεγενῆσθαι, καὶ ὅμοιον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις γεγονότα, δικαιότερον τῶν λοιπῶν γενέσθαι, τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν αὐτοῦ εὐτονον καὶ καθαρὰν γεγονυῖαν, διαμνημονεῦσαι τὰ ὅρατὰ μὲν αὐτῇ ἐν τῇ μετὰ τοῦ ἀγενήτου Θεοῦ περιφορᾷ, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπ' ἐκείνου αὐτῇ καταπεμφθῆναι δύναμιν, ὅπως τοὺς κοσμοποιοὺς ἐκφυγεῖν δι' αὐτῆς δυνήθῃ. ἦν καὶ διὰ πάντων χωρήσασαν ἐν πᾶσί τε ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν, ἐληλυθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν, τὰ ὅμοια αὐτῆς ἀσπαζομένην. Τὴν δὲ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ λέγουσι ψυχὴν ἐννόμως ἡσκημένην ἐν Ἰουδαϊκοῖς ἔθεσι καταφρονῆσαι αὐτῶν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυνάμεις ἐπιτετελεκέναι, δι' ὧν κατήργησε τὰ ἐπὶ κολάσει πάθη προσόντα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις. Τὴν οὖν ὁμοίως ἐκείνῃ τῇ τοῦ Χριστοῦ ψυχῇ δυναμένην καταφρονῆσαι τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀρχόντων, ὁμοίως λαμβάνειν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ

operandum similia. Quapropter et ad tantum elationis provecti sunt, ut quidam quidem similes se esse dicant Jesu, quidam autem adhuc et secundum aliquid illo fortiores, qui sunt distantes amplius quam illius discipuli, ut puta quam Petrus et Paulus et reliqui Apostoli: hos autem in nullo deminorari a Jesu. Animas enim ipsorum ex eadem circumlacione devenientes, et ideo similiter contemnentes mundi fabricatores, eadem dignas habitas esse virtute, et rursus in idem abire. Si quis autem plus quam ille contempserit ea quæ sunt hic, posse meliorem quam illum esse. Artes enim magicas operantur et ipsi et incantationes, philtrea quoque et charitesia, et pareddros et oniropompos, et reliquas malignationes, dicentes se potestatem habere ad dominandum jam principibus et fabricatoribus hujus mundi: non solum autem, sed et his omnibus, quæ in eo sunt facta. Qui et ipsi ad distractionem divini Ecclesiæ nominis, quemadmodum et

πραῖσαι τὰ ὅμοια· διὸ καὶ εἰς τοῦτο τὸ τυφὸς κατεληλύθασιν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς μὲν ὁμοίως αὐτῷ εἶναι λέγουσι τῷ Ἰησοῦ, τοὺς δὲ καὶ ἔτι δυνατωτέρους, τινὰς δὲ καὶ διαφορωτέρους τῶν ἐκείνου μαθητῶν, ὡς Πέτρον καὶ Παύλον καὶ τῶν λοιπῶν ἀποστόλων· τούτους δὲ κατὰ μηδένα ἀπολείπεσθαι τοῦ Ἰησοῦ. Τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ἐκ τῆς ὑπερκειμένης ἐξουσίας παρούσας, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὡσαύτως καταφρονεῖν τῶν κοσμοποιῶν διὰ [τὸ] τῆς αὐτῆς ἡξιώσθαι δυνάμεως, καὶ αὐθις εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ χωρῆσαι. Εἰ δέ τις ἐκείνου πλέον καταφρονήσειεν τῶν ἐνταῦθα, δύνασθαι διαφορωτέρον αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχειν. Τέχνας οὖν μαγικὰς ἐξεργαζόμενοι καὶ ἐπαοιδὰς, φίλτρα τε καὶ χαρτήσια, παρέδρους τε καὶ ὀνειροπόμους καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ κακουργήματα, φάσκοντες ἐξουσίαν ἔχειν πρὸς τὸ κυριεύειν ἡδὴ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ ποιητῶν τοῦδε τοῦ κόσμου, οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ ποιημάτων ἀπάντων· οἵτινες καὶ αὐτοὶ εἰς διαβολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς Ἐκκλησίας ὀνόματος πρὸς τὰ ἔθνη

gentes, a Satana præmissi sunt, uti secundum alium et alium modum, quæ sunt illorum audientes homines, et putantes omnes nos tales esse, avertant aures suas a præconio veritatis: aut et videntes quæ sunt illorum, omnes nos blasphemant, in nullo eis communicantes, neque in doctrina, neque in moribus, neque in quotidiana conversatione. Sed vitam quidem luxuriosam, sententiam autem impiam ad velamen malitiæ ipsorum nomine abutuntur, quorum iudicium justum est, recipientium dignam suis operibus a Deo retributionem. Et in tantum insania effrænati sunt, uti et omnia quæcunque sunt irreligiosa et impia, in potestate habere operari se dicant. Sola enim humana opinione negotia mala et bona dicunt. Et utique secundum transmigrationes in corpora oportere in omni vita, et in omni actu fieri animas (si non præoccupans quis in uno adventu omnia agat semel ac pariter, quæ non tantum dicere et audire non

ὑπὸ τοῦ Σατανᾶ προεβλήθησαν, ἵνα κατ' ἄλλον καὶ ἄλλον τρόπον τὰ ἐκείνων ἀκούοντες ἄνθρωποι, καὶ δοκοῦντες ἡμᾶς πάντας τοιούτους ὑπάρχειν, ἀποστρέψωσι τὰς ἀκοὰς αὐτῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῆς ἀληθείας κηρύγματος [ἢ καὶ] βλέποντες τὰ ἐκείνων ἅπαντα, ἡμᾶς βλασφημῶσιν (τ. βλασφημοῦσιν).

Εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ μετενσωματοῦσθαι φάσκουσι τὰς ψυχὰς, ὅσον πάντα τὰ ἁμαρτήματα πληρώσωσιν· ὅταν δὲ μηδὲν λείπῃ, τότε ἐλευθερωθεῖσαν ἀπαλλαγῇναι πρὸς ἐκείνον τὸν ὑπεράνω τῶν κοσμοποιῶν ἀγγέλων Θεὸν, καὶ οὕτως σωθῆσεσθαι πάσας τὰς

est fas nobis, sed ne quidem in mentis conceptionem venire, nec credere si apud homines conversantes in his quæ sunt secundum nos civitates, tale aliquid agitur), uti, secundum quod scripta eorum dicunt, in omni usu vitæ factæ animæ ipsorum, exeuntes in nihilo adhuc minus habeant.

Ad operandum autem in eo, ne forte propterea quod deest libertati aliqua res, cogantur iterum mitti in corpus, propter hoc dicunt Jesum hanc dixisse parabolam: Cum es cum adversario tuo in via, da operam, ut libereris ab eo, etc. etc.

. . .

Alii vero ex ipsis signant, cauteriantes suos discipulos in posterioribus partibus extantiæ dextræ auris. Unde et Marcellina, quæ Romam sub Aniceto venit, cum esset hujus doctrinæ, multos exterminavit. Gnosticos se autem vocant: etiam imagines quasdam quidem depictas, quasdam autem et de reliqua materia fabricatas habent, dicentes formam Christi factam a Pilato, illo in tem-

ψυχάς. Εἴ τινες δὲ φθάσαι ἐν μᾶ παρουσίᾳ ἀνεμίγησαν (τ. ἀναμιγῆναι) πάσαις ἁμαρτίαις, οὐκέτι μετενσωματοῦνται, ἀλλὰ πάντα ὁμοῦ ἀποδοῦσαι τὰ ὀφλήματα ἐλευθερωθήσονται τοῦ μηκέτι γενέσθαι ἐν σώματι.

Τούτων τινὲς καὶ κληρονομοῦσι τοὺς ἰδίους μαθητὰς ἐν τοῖς ὀπίσω μέρεσι τοῦ λοβοῦ τοῦ δεξιῦ ὡτός.

Καὶ εἰκόνας δὲ κατασκευάζουσι τοῦ Χριστοῦ λέγοντες ὑπὸ Πιλάτου τῷ καίρῳ ἐκείνῳ γενέσθαι.

pore quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant, et proponunt eas cum imaginibus mundi philosophorum, videlicet cum imagine Pythagoræ, et Platonis et Aristotelis et reliquorum; et reliquam observationem circa eas similiter ut Gentes faciunt.

This long passage is very instructive. It proves that we have more facts but fewer words in Hippolytus than in Irenæus. It proves also, that, even in those articles which Hippolytus took principally from Irenæus, he went to the fountain-head, and completed or rectified the extracts he had found in his predecessor's work. Of this we have a very striking instance in the passage about the Carpocratian doctrine of the metempsychosis. The words in Irenæus alluding to this doctrine, and beginning "Ad operandum autem in eo, ne forte cogantur iterum mitti in corpus," &c., are entirely unintelligible; so in fact is the long confused period which precedes it. Hippolytus felt this, and introduced instead of it, not a sentence (I believe) of the Carpocratian text-book, but undoubtedly the substance of what he found in it, which Irenæus had garbled. The period which begins that passage, "Εἰς τοσούτον δὲ μετενσωματοῦσθαι ἐλευθε-

ρωθήσονται τοῦ μηκέτι γενέσθαι ἐν σώματι," renders what follows perfectly intelligible.

As to this wicked perversion of the ancient doctrine of the metempsychosis, I can only say that, if it is taken from a work of Carpocrates himself (to whom we have no right to impute such gross immorality), it expresses only that part of his doctrine in which he represented the tragic destiny of the souls living under the thralldom of the Demiurg, and driven by him into sin through all the stages of that existence, which, according to the "ancient" doctrine of the East (against which Æschylus and the truly religious Hellenic mind rebelled), was a curse in itself.

XIII. CERINTHUS, "educated in the science of the Egyptians" (p. 256. twelve lines: to be compared with x. 21. and Iren. i. 25).—I give the two passages in juxtaposition, because we are led by this method to some corrections of our text:—

IRENÆUS.

Et Cerinthus autem quidam in Asia, non a primo Deo factum esse mundum docuit, sed a virtute quadam valde separata, et distante ab ea principalitate quæ est super universa, et ignorante eum qui est super omnia Deum. Jesum autem subjecit, non ex virgine natum (impossibile enim hoc ei vi-

HIPPOLYTUS.

Κήρινθος δὲ τις [καὶ] αὐτὸς Αἰγυπτίων παιδείᾳ ἀσκηθεὶς ἔλεγεν οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρώτου [Θεοῦ] γεγονέναι τὸν κόσμον ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δυνάμεως τινὸς κχωρισμένης τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα ἐξουσίας, καὶ ἀγνοούσης τὸν ὑπὲρ πάντα Θεόν. τὸν δὲ Ἰησοῦν ὑπέθετο μὴ ἐκ παρθένου γεγενῆσθαι, γεγονέναι δὲ αὐτὸν ἐξ Ἰωσήφ καὶ Μα-

sum est); fuisse autem eum Joseph et Mariæ filium, similiter ut reliqui omnes homines, et plus potuisse justitia et prudentia et sapientia ab omnibus. Et post baptismum descendisse in eum, ab ea principalitate quæ est super omnia, Christum figura columbæ; et tunc annunciasse incognitum Patrem, et virtutes perfecisse; in fine autem revolasse iterum Christum de Jesu, et Jesum passum esse et resurrexisse: Christum autem impassibilem perseverasse, existentem spiritalem.

ρίας υἱὸν (τ. οἶον), ὁμοίως τοῖς λοιποῖς ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις, καὶ δικαιότερον γεγενῆναι καὶ σοφώτερον. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ βάπτισμα κατελθεῖν εἰς αὐτὸν [ἐκ] τῆς ὑπὲρ τὰ ὅλα ἀνθεντίας τὸν Χριστὸν, ἐν εἶδει περριστερᾶς. Καὶ τότε κηρύξαι τὸν ἄγνωστον (τ. γνωστὸν) Πατέρα, καὶ δυνάμεις ἐπιτελέσαι· πρὸς δὲ τῷ τέλει, ἀποπτῆναι (τ. ἀποστῆναι) τὸν Χριστὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἰησοῦ (τ. Χριστοῦ), καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐγγεγέρθαι, τὸν δὲ Χριστὸν ἀπαθῆ διαμεμενηκέναι πνευματικὸν (τ. πατρικὸν) ὑπάρχοντα.

On this occasion I will offer an observation to you, my dear friend, which forces itself upon me more and more in considering the bearing of this newly discovered work on the present controversy about the age of the Gospel of St. John, and consequently on the whole history of the hundred years, from 70 to 170. We have seen that Hippolytus not only undertook, but really carried out, with no little labour, and with the resources which Rome alone and a life of inquiry there could offer, a critical review of the doctrinal history of the Church, from its earliest age down to his own time. He dug into the depths of the first heretical speculations, which

had remained historically an enigma to Irenæus: he inquired, in particular, into the historical and chronological order of these heresies, being the first chronographer of the West, and gave, in all points where we can follow him, the most authentic reports we possess. Now, when such a man transcribes an important article from Irenæus, like that respecting Cerinthus, without addition or modification, his transcript must be taken as a solemn seal put to its truth. How, then, can we treat as mythical the common traditions respecting Cerinthus, whom Hippolytus also places at the head of the Ebionitic view? And if we cannot do this, how can we doubt that Cerinthus lived in the time of St. John, and that the prologue and other important passages of the fourth Gospel refer, not to late systems of the second century, but to early theories of Gnosticism and Ebionitism in the first? Doubtless the Gospel does refer to theories and speculations respecting the person of Jesus of Nazareth, but to those which sprang up immediately after the destruction of Jerusalem. That event, the shock of which had an echo through the inhabited globe, roused the infant Christian world from slumbering dreams about future destinies in an unknown state, to the consciousness of a world-conquering divine vocation upon this earth, and to prophetic visions of new kingdoms and new nations directed by Christ's spirit. It brought on a crystallization of the floating elements

of Christian worship and of corporative organization ; and it roused all the depths of the human intellect to solve the great enigmas of the connection between the historical person of Jesus of Nazareth and the origin and nature of the human race, of the relation between history and the divine idea, between inward and outward revelation and inspiration. How can any one wonder that those theories sprang up as early as we are told? We know now more than ever authentically, that they did; and we can understand this phenomenon, if we consider those circumstances, and the great fermentation into which the decay of Judaism and of Paganism had, for a century or two, thrown the human race.

If we look back over this sixth book, we find it, I think, as interesting for its contents in its first portions, as for the evidence of its authorship in the latter.

BOOK VII.

(Pp. 223—260., 38 pages.)

Having established, I believe, on sufficient grounds, the authorship and character of our work, I shall now content myself with presenting a list of the sects, adding a few remarks by way of appendix.

XIV. BASILIDES and his son ISIDORUS (pp. 225—244.).—This, again, is an original article by Hippoly-

tus, and treated according to his own method. Having premised a recapitulation of the Aristotelian principle, on which, according to him, Basilides founded his philosophical system, just as Valentinus did upon Pythagoras and Plato (pp. 225—229.), he gives an authentic account of Basilides' opinions, from his own works and those of his son (pp. 230—244.). Compared with this treatise, Irenæus' chapter (i. 23.) appears very meagre, incomplete, and incorrect. According to Hippolytus, Basilides was certainly an Egyptian (p. 244.). This settles more than one much disputed and not unimportant question.

This sect used pretended secret doctrines (*λογοί*) of St. Matthias, undoubtedly the same which Clemens Alexandrinus and Eusebius mention.* The whole exposition of Basilides' system seems to me strikingly to confirm Neander's elaborate and beau-

* Clem. Strom. ii. 380. iii. 43 b. vii. p. 765.; Euseb. H. E. iii. 25. See Grabe, *Spicilegium*, i. p. 117. sq. He guessed acutely that it was a Basilidian apocryphal book, which indeed Clemens asserts. The editor ought not to have changed here (230. 10. and 230. 83.) *Μαθίου* into *Ματθαίου*. I would correct the corrupt text (*λόγον δὲν ὡς ἴδιον οὗτοι καὶ καινόν τινα καὶ τῶν Μαθίου λόγων κρύβιον τινα ἐνδιασαφοῦσιν*) thus: *λόγον δὲν ὡς ἴδιον οὗτοι καὶ καινόν τινα ἐκ τῶν Μαθίου λόγων κρυφίον* (or *ἀποκρύφον*) *τινῶν διασαφοῦσιν*. These *λόγοι* of Matthias are called (230. 83.) *λόγοι ἀπόκρυφοι*. They were, probably, not an apocryphal gospel, but a mystical and philosophical doctrine; perhaps the *παραδόσεις* or traditions which went under his name (Grabe, i. 1.). The gospel of the school was the Nazarean one which Jerome translated into Latin, an enlargement upon the groundwork of our first Gospel.

tiful account of it *, and also some acute observations of that accurate and truly critical historian, Gieseler. The noble character of Basilides' ethical view of the world, which both have so clearly developed, is now authentically established by the hitherto unknown metaphysical substruction of the whole system disclosed to us in well connected extracts, which occupy nine tenths of the article, or about twelve pages. The keystone of the whole system of the metaphysical ogdoad and hebdomad is in the words (pp. 235—236.): — “Everything has a tendency from below upward, from what is worse to what is better; and nothing in the better is too immovable to descend.”† Among the Pauline epistles quoted is that to the Ephesians. But Basilides not only quotes (besides St. Luke's second chapter) the Gospel of St. John ‡; it is also evident that his whole metaphysical development, is an attempt to connect a cosmogonic system with St. John's pro-

* Kirchengeschichte, i. 691—713. I wonder that Neander should have been at a loss how to correct the passage in a Latin text of the fourth centry, giving an account of Basilides' system (p. 693. iv. 3.): “Per *parvulam* divitis et pauperis naturam sine radice indicat.” We must plainly read: “Per *parabolam* divitis et pauperis, naturam sine radice indicat.”

† This must be the sense of the words: *Σπεύδει πάντα κάτωθεν ἄνω ἀπὸ τῶν χειρόνων ἐπὶ τὰ κρείττονα· οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἀνόητόν ἐστι τῶν τοῖς κρείττοσιν, ἵνα μὴ κατέλθῃ κάτω.* I read: *οὐδὲν δὲ οὕτως ἀκίνητόν ἐστιν ἐν τοῖς κρείττοσιν, etc.*

‡ p. 232. 64., p. 242. 55.

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logue, and with the person of Christ. Now these extracts are undoubtedly older than Heracleon's commentary on St. John (which itself is already incompatible with Strauss' and Baur's hypothesis about the origin of the fourth Gospel), and belong to the time between 120 and 130.*

XV. SATURNILUS (Saturninus, Iren. i. c. 24.), cotemporary with Basilides, lived at Antioch in Syria, and taught a doctrine like Menander's, who evidently is mentioned here incidentally. Irenæus treated of Saturninus before Basilides. Hippolytus inverts the order; probably he thought it better to place Basilides, as the head of a new school, before his cotemporary. But the article itself (pp. 244, 245.) is copied from Irenæus.†

XVI. MARCION, from *Pontus*.—This is, again, an original article (pp. 246—253.), but not so important as those on Valentinus and Basilides. After

* The text is full of corruptions and difficulties. Page 234. 12. read τὸ ἀρρήτων ἀρρητότερον instead of τὸ ἀρρήτων, ἀρρητότερον. The writing 'Αβρασάξ, p. 240. 95., may be more correct than 'Αβράξας. The unintelligible sentence, p. 232. 40—46., has been thus restored by Dr. Bernays, whose attention I had called to this work on account of the Heraclitean fragments: Πάντα οὖν, ὅσα ἐστὶν εἰπεῖν καὶ ἔτι μὴ εἰρόντα παραλιπεῖν, τῷ μέλλοντι (τ. ὅσα τῷ μέλλοντι) κόσμῳ γενέσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ σπέρματος ἐμελλεν ἀρμόζειν ἀναγκαίως (τ. ἀναγκαίως) καιροῖς ἰδίοις κατὰ προσθήκην αὐξανομένης (τ. αὐξανομένης), ὡς ὑπὸ τηλικούτου καὶ τοιούτου Θεοῦ, ὁποῖον οὐκ εἰπεῖν οὐδὲ νοήσῃ (τ. οὐ νοῆσαι) δυνατὴ γέγονε χωρῆσαι ἢ κτίσις, ἀεὶ (τ. καὶ) ἐνυπῆρχε τεθησανομένη τῷ σπέρματι. 'Αρμόζειν is of course here intransitive.

† Neander, Kircheng. i. 784.

a few remarks on Marcion, extracted from Irenæus (i. 29.), as to the sense, our author gives an Empedoclean dissertation, interesting for the criticism on the works of that poetical philosopher, and containing some new verses. Hippolytus of course, according to his favourite idea, endeavours to refer Marcion's tenets, as far as they are truly philosophical, to Empedocles; for which, although it is in some respects a fanciful notion, he urges that Marcion often copied him literally (*αὐταῖς λέξεσι*, p. 252. 19.).* He then gives a short but original account of a development of Marcion's doctrine for the worse. He calls the systems which rest simply upon the antagonism or dualism of good and evil, "the first and purest heresy of Marcion" (253. 39.), in contradistinction to the system of Prepon, of whom the next article treats.

XVII. PREPON the *Assyrian*, a Marcionist, or follower of Marcion, and who lived in Hippolytus' time.

* Pray correct the words in p. 252., where, after mention of Paul the apostle, Mark the evangelist is called *Μάρκος ὁ κολοβοδάκτυλος* (Mark the stump-finger). But the true text may easily be restored if we consider the whole passage. 'Επειδὴν οὖν, Μαρκίων ἢ τῶν ἐκείνου κυνῶν τις ὑλακτῇ κατὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀντιπαραθέσεως ἀγαθοῦ καὶ καλοῦ προφέρων λόγους, δεῖ αὐτοῖς λέγειν ὅτι τούτους οὕτε Παῦλος ὁ ἀπόστολος οὕτε Μάρκος ὁ καλῶν λόγων διδάσκαλος ἀνήγγειλαν. Τούτων γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ κατὰ Μάρκον εὐαγγελίῳ γέγραπται. He calls Mark the teacher of good words (doctrines), instead of the "evangelist" (which means the same), in order to avoid repetition, and perhaps also for the sake of the play upon the word *λόγοι*. There are worse corruptions in our text than this.

We hitherto knew nothing beyond his name, which Theodoret (i. 25.) mentions, with other followers of Marcion, in his article on Apelles. We now learn that Prepon the Marcionist* had written a book addressed to Bardesianes the Armenian (p. 253.), in which he set up a third first principle, Justice (τὸ δίκαιον), in the Jewish sense of righteousness, or conformity with the law, as the middle between good and evil. It is evident from what follows, that Marcion in his later writings adopted this view. For Hippolytus returns to Marcion, and gives us his celebrated, startling saying, "that the Saviour came down without birth in the fifteenth year of Tiberius," with the addition: "being the mean (μέσον) between good and evil." To explain this expression Marcion's words are quoted: — "If he is the mean (μεσότης), he is delivered from the nature of evil. But evil is the Demiurg and his creatures. For this very reason, Jesus descended without being born (ἀγέννητος), that he might be free from all evil. But he is also free from the nature of good, in order to be 'the mean' (μεσότης), as Paul says, and as he (Jesus) himself declares, in the words, 'Why do you call me good?' One is good."

At this point, the pure Gnostic school being ex-

* Μαρκωνίστης τις Πρίπων Ἀσσύριος. The text has (to my surprise, without any remark) the nonsense, Μαρκίων, νῆστις τις Πρ. Ἀσ. Μαρκωνίστης is the usual word for Marcionist.

hausted, Hippolytus passes through Carpocrates to the Ebionite heresies. He states that these two schools stand in opposition to each other (p. 257. 67.). Carpocrates' place is well chosen; for he partakes of both systems.

XVIII. The EBIONITES (*Εβιωναῖοι*), who acknowledge the true God as the Creator, but adopt Cerinthus' and Carpocrates' fables about Christ. They live as Jews, and say, that, like Jesus himself, they are justified by the law. Jesus fulfilled the law, which none before Him had done, and thus became the Christ; if any had done so before Him, he would have been the Christ. This short article is partly taken from Irenæus, partly original. It is well to compare the two texts, in order to observe the manner in which Hippolytus has on the one hand abridged Irenæus' account, and on the other enlarged it from the original records.

IRENÆUS (i. 26.).

Qui autem dicuntur Ebionæi, consentiunt quidem mundum a Deo factum; ea autem quæ sunt erga Dominum similiter (text: non similiter), ut Cerinthus et Carpocrates opinantur.

Solo autem eo quod est secundum Matthæum Evangelio utuntur, et Apostolum Paulum recusant, apostatam

HIPPOLYTUS (p. 257.).

Ἐβιωναῖοι δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι τὸν κόσμον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄντως Θεοῦ γεγονέναι· τὰ δὲ περὶ τὸν Χριστὸν ὁμοίως τῷ Κηρίνθῳ καὶ Καρποκράτει μυθεύουσιν. Ἐθεσιν Ἰουδαίκοις ζῶσι, κατὰ νόμον φάσκοντες δικαιῶσθαι, καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν λέγοντες δεδικαιῶσθαι ποιήσαντα τὸν νόμον. διὸ καὶ Χριστὸν τὸν (τ. αὐτὸν) τοῦ Θεοῦ ὠνομάσθαι Ἰησοῦν (τ. καὶ

eum legis dicentes. Quæ autem sunt prophetica, curiosius exponere nituntur; et circumciduntur ac perseverant in his consuetudinibus, quæ sunt secundum legem, et Judaico caractere vitæ, uti et Hierosolymam adorent, quasi domus sit Deo.

Ἰησοῦν), ἐπεὶ μηδεὶς τῶν [πρὸ αὐτοῦ] ἐτέλεσε τὸν νόμον· εἰ γὰρ καὶ ἕτερός τις πεποιήκει τὰ ἐν νόμῳ προστεταγμένα, ἦν ἂν ἐκεῖνος ὁ Χριστός. Δύνασθαι δὲ καὶ ἑαυτοὺς ὁμοίως ποιήσαντας Χριστοὺς γενέσθαι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοίως ἄνθρωπον εἶναι πᾶσι λέγουσιν.

XIX. THEODOTUS of *Byzantium*, an entirely new article, as well as the following.—Theodotus acknowledged Jesus as the son of Mary the Virgin, but as having received the spirit at his baptism, in consequence of his most holy and devout life. Some only of his followers say, that Jesus became God after his resurrection.

XX. THEODOTUS the *Trapezite*, or banker, father of the *Melchisedekites*, was originally a simple follower of the first Theodotus: he became the head of a peculiar system, in consequence of disputes among the Theodotians. It is not stated on what passage of Scripture Theodotus Junior based his theory of Jesus' relation to Melchisedek, — whether on the historical account in Genesis, or on Psalm cx., or on this Psalm and the Epistle to the Hebrews. But I have no doubt he referred to the fourth verse of the Psalm: "Thou art a priest for ever after the order of Melchisedek;" and one can easily understand, that a Gnostic philosopher of the Ori-

ental Valentinian school might endeavour from this verse to establish the theory, that Melchisedek was the highest power (*δύναμις*), and Christ, being of his order, only his image (*εἰκών*): which latter word was one of the technical terms of the school, as the extracts from Theodotus in Clemens' "Hypotyposes" prove. Epiphanius (Hær. 54, 55.) also connects this sect with the Theodotians, as a division or branch of them; and Theodoret (ii. 5, 6.) calls their founder another Theodotus, as our author does.

Our article adds, that Christ (being himself only an image of Melchisedek) descended upon Jesus, whom this sect also considered simply as a man.

I think we may guess from this last doctrine of the Theodotians and Melchisedekites, why Hippolytus, who follows the genealogical order of the heresies rather than the strictly chronological, placed Cerinthus with the later Ebionites, or the more modern Judaizing Gnostic school, between Valentinus, Basilides, and Marcion on the one side, and the Theodotians on the other. These latter heretics had either openly adopted part of the Cerinthian and Ebionitic system; or at least their speculations developed some of the germs contained in them; perhaps also the later Ebionite writers had tried to support their doctrines by the profound speculations of Valentinus.

This is the general import of the articles on the Theodotians. But that on the younger Theodo-

tus and the Melchisedekites is besides very important for understanding the character of our manuscript. All that is said of them is comprised in eight lines (p. 258. l. 79—86.). Not a word of refutation is there, in a work which was to leave no heresy unanswered. This is much less than what either Epiphanius or Theodoret relate of them: and now mark this circumstance. Theodoret's account is taken from a work written purposely against this sect, under the title of the "Little Labyrinth," which, I can show you good evidence for believing, was a work of our Hippolytus himself. How, then, is it to be explained, that his article is so meagre, in a work which was to leave nothing unstated, nothing without refutation? One cannot say that Hippolytus thought a sufficient refutation was contained in the first part of his work, on the speculative systems of the Gentiles; for he does not refer to it. That we have here only a hurried extract is proved by the sentence immediately following the eight lines descriptive of the Melchisedekite opinions. This sentence cannot be construed; and what it seems to say, "that there were different opinions held by the Gnostics, and that the author did not think it worth while to discuss their foolish and godless doctrines," is wholly inappropriate in itself, and in this place, and has no connexion with what follows: "Nicolaus was the cause of much of the evil of this sect (which?); and then Cerdo took his start from them (from whom?),

and from Simon." It is evident, that as all this cannot refer to the Gnostics generally, it must refer to those here treated of, the Theodotians. To explain this by saying that there is a defect in our manuscript, caused by the carelessness of the copyist, seems to me to be highly improbable. I therefore consider this passage as one of the many proofs that we possess a part of the seventh book only in an extract, made in a hurried manner. The original text must have contained, in this article, much respecting the Theodotians, left out in our extract, and must have comprised the refutation of their system, concluding with a sentence the beginning of which we have. Nicolaus was mentioned after this exposition as one who himself, or whose sect, had imbued the Gnostic system with impurity and immorality; and, lastly, it was stated that Cerdo started from the Theodotians, as a peculiar branch of the Oriental Valentinian school.

I have endeavoured to reconstruct the meaning of the text only so far as is necessary to restore sense to our extract. I believe that such was the general connection of the context: but what I insist upon is, principally, that in our text whole sentences (not a few words merely) are either wanting entirely, or are extracted carelessly.*

* The text now runs thus, after the meagre account of the Melchisedekites: Γνωστικῶν δὲ διάφοροι γνώμαι, ὧν οὐκ ἄξιον καταριθμεῖν τὰς φλυάρους δόξας ἐκρίναμεν οὕσας πολλὰς ἀλόγους τε καὶ βλασφημίας γεμούσας, ὧν πάνυ σεμνότερον περὶ τὸ Θεῖον οἱ φιλοσοφῆσαντες ἀφ' Ἑλλήνων ἠνέχθησαν. Πολλᾶς δὲ αὐτῶν συστάσεως

I cannot leave Theodotus without calling your attention for a moment to the bearing of this passage upon the Ignatian question. In the longer version of the interpolated Ignatian Epistles (in that to the Trallians)*, Theodotus' name is mentioned. The chronological place of Theodotus hangs upon two concurring circumstances. First, we learn credibly from Epiphanius that his doctrine was condemned by Victor (188—198); and, secondly, we know that Clemens of Alexandria, in his doctrinal book, the "Hypotyposes" (about 210), gave certain extracts from some Theodotian writing, with his own observations and occasional refutations. The title of this work of Clemens runs thus: "Extracts from Theodotus and from the so-called Oriental school (Ανατολική διδασκαλία) about the time of Valentinus." The last words evidently do not form part of the original

κακῶν αἴτιος γέγνηται Νικόλαος, εἰς τῶν ἐπτά εἰς διακονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀποστόλων κατασταθεὶς, ὃς ἀποστάς τῆς κατ' εὐθείαν διδασκαλίας, ἐδίδασκεν ἀδιαφορίαν βίου τε καὶ γνώσεως, οὗ τοὺς μαθητὰς ἐνουβρίζοντας τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα διὰ τῆς Ἀποκαλύψεως Ἰωάννης ἤλεγχε πορνέοντας καὶ εἰδωλόθυτα ἐσθιοντας. I would restore the sense of the beginning of this passage thus:—Περὶ δὲ τὸ θεῖον διάφοροι τούτων τῶν Γνωστικῶν αἱ γνώμαι. The remainder may perhaps be healed by simply reading πρὸς τὸ θεῖον οἱ φιλοσ. instead of περὶ τὸ θεῖον. The sense is: "the Greek philosophers have approached the Deity with much more reverence." Compare p. 4. l. 81—88. τὰ δόξαντα τοῖς Ἑλλήνων φιλοσόφοις ὄντα τούτων παλαιότερα καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον σεμνότερα. As to the following period, I read: Πολλῆς δὲ αὐτοῖς συστάσεως κακῶν αἴτιος γέγνηται Νικόλαος, etc. Σύστασις is to be taken in the sense of συνάθροισμα.

* Cureton, Corpus Ignatianum.

title, but are added by way of explanation, as is sufficiently proved by the awkward manner in which they are placed at the end. The time of Valentinus designates the third and fourth decads of the second century (that is, from 120 to 140). It is evident then, that, as everybody allows Theodotus to have been later than Valentinus, we cannot place him earlier than 140. But I am inclined to conclude from the place which Hippolytus allots to him, immediately after the Ebionites, — Cerdo, who flourished at Rome about the year 130, is placed after him, as representing a new element, neither Valentinian nor Ebionite, — that Theodotus lived certainly not long after the year 150; which justifies the date assigned to him in the title of the work of Clemens just quoted.

XXI. NICOLAUS, the father of the Nicolaitans. — Hippolytus takes him to be the Nicolaus of the Acts, one of the seven deacons. You know that this has been from a very early period a much disputed point. But it is remarkable that Theodoret expressly names "Hippolytus the Bishop and Martyr," with Irenæus and Origen, as the writers who maintained that the Nicolaus of the Acts was guilty of the scandalous heresy of the Nicolaitans; and we know from Photius (i, 232.) that Stephanus Gobarus, the Monophysite, named Hippolytus and Epiphanius (who must have copied Hippolytus) as the authors who held that opinion. If the authorship of

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blasphemans eum qui a Lege et Prophetis annuntiatus est Deus, malorum factorem, et bellorum concupiscentem, et inconstantem quoque sen- tentia, et contrarium sibi ipsum dicens.	αὐτῷ ἔδοξεν εἰς τὸν τῶν ἀπάν- των δημιουργὸν δυσφημήσας.
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Irenæus treats of Marcion after Cerdo. Our author has anticipated the article upon Marcion, when speaking of the leading heresiarchs of Gnosticism, and evidently mentions Marcion and his disciple Lucianus here, merely as a transition to a junior teacher of the same school, of whom Irenæus does not speak at all; perhaps because he was posterior to him.

XXIII. APELLES "derived from these" (Cerdo, Marcion, Lucianus).—He advanced further in the same direction, setting up, besides the just Demiurg, the fiery God (*πύρινος*), who spoke to Moses*, and, as a fourth, the author of evil. All these three were to him angels. Of the Gospels, and St. Paul's Epistles, he picked out what he liked. He attributed the authority of prophecies to the sayings of a *clairvoyante* woman of his sect, Philumena.

This account of Apelles seems in some respects

* Compare also Deuteron. iv. 24. We have seen that Simon Magus founded his doctrine upon this passage, taking it (as Valentinus also did, p. 191. 10.) in the same sense, as implying that the name of God was Fire (שֵׁר). I learn from Colonel Rawlinson, that the Babylonian name of God in the cuneiform inscriptions(𐎶, 𐎶𐎵) is really Fire.

severer than that which Rhodon, Tatian's disciple, and an opponent of the Marcionites, gave of him in a fragment preserved by Eusebius (H. E. v. 13.), and written about twenty-five years before our author's time. According to Rhodon, Apelles acknowledged only one first principle. Hippolytus says, his system on this subject agreed with that of Marcion. The *clairvoyante* Philumena is also mentioned by Rhodon.

The author here concludes his seventh book, in order to pass to the *Docetæ*. We have therefore in the seventh book, first, a continuation of the Gnostics, who derived their system, like the Valentinians, from Simon the Galilean; then the Ebionite sects, or all who regarded Christ simply as man, and who were more or less Judaizers; finally, those who mixed up these different systems, concluding with Apelles. But some of the articles we possess only in the shape of hasty abstracts.

BOOK VIII.

(Pp. 261—277., 17 pages only.)

The eighth book contains seven articles, of which only one, that about *Tatian*, is copied from Irenæus: another, equally short, agrees with the corresponding article of Irenæus, as to the sense, that on the *Encratites*: the other five are entirely new, and not touched upon by Irenæus, and refer, in some places,

to opinions more recent than his work on the heresies. One article (about Monoimus the Arab) gives us an almost entirely unknown system. The whole book is very short, containing only seventeen pages. This can only be accounted for by saying, that we do not possess the entire text, but only an abstract, and that abstract not very carefully made.

XXIV. The *Docetæ*.—This name, used very vaguely and indefinitely by other authors, from Sarpion (Euseb. vi. 12.) down to Jerome and Theodoret (Divin. Script. c. 12. Opp. iv. 1142.), is here attached to a particular sect, which itself assumed it (p. 262. 28.). This remarkable article takes up seven pages of the seventeen, and is full of curious extracts from their text-book (pp. 263—268.), with much new matter. They had a speculative system, based upon the numbers from one to ten, like the Egyptian, treated by our author in his fourth book (pp. 77—79.).*

* In this most curious article respecting the ancient Egyptian metaphysics of numbers, it is impossible not to recognize the Chinese system delivered in the Y-king. There is in it a sentence perfectly unintelligible as it stands now. After the author has explained how, by repetition of itself, the monad generates the dyad, triad, tetrad, and finally the decad, he continues (p. 78. 3.): *Τῆς δὲ μονάδος κατὰ τὴν ἀδιαίρετον σύγκρισιν συγγενεῖς ἀριθμοὶ παραλαμβάνονται γ', ε', ζ', θ' (3, 5, 7, 9). Ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ἑτέρον ἀριθμοῦ συγγένεια πρὸς τὴν μονάδα, φυσικωτέρα κατὰ τὴν τοῦ ἑξακύκλου ἑλικὸς πραγματείαν, τῆς δυνάδος κατὰ τὴν ἄρτιον δέσιν τῶν ἀριθμῶν καὶ διαίρεσιν.* The editor proposes to correct: *τῆς ἑξακ. ἑλ.* I read: *τὴν τοῦ ἑξακύκλου ὑλικοῦ πραγματείαν, ἢ τῆς δυνάδος, &c.* These words allude to the divine

The Docetian christology is not only very original, but also clearly shows the age to which they belong. They presuppose the whole Valentinian school. Some light may be thrown by help of this article upon the fragments of the Gospel called after St. Peter.

XXV. MONOÏMUS, an Arab, author of an epistle to Theophrastus (p. 272.), a man entirely unknown hitherto, with the exception of two lines in Theodoret (Hær. 98.).—In the four pages and a half which Hippolytus has upon him, four are literal extracts from him. He said, according to Hippolytus: Man was the universe (*ἄνθρωπον εἶναι τὸ πᾶν*) and the principle of all things (*ἀρχὴ τῶν ὅλων*). The system is a genuine Oriental mixture of Gnostic speculation, proceeding by progressive evolutions of the monad. But it is mixed up with a mythical application of the Pythagorean speculations respecting numbers, and, as Hippolytus says (p. 272.), of the Aristotelian categories. In the extracts we find the Pentateuch and the Epistle to the Colossians quoted, with every word perverted from its natural sense to fit the speculative

Hexaemeron, or the six days of the creation; and I believe their sense is this: the dyad is more philosophical as respects the treatment of the six days of the creation of the material universe. For, without starting from the dyad, and proceeding by a dyadic progression ($2+2+2$), a philosopher endeavouring to explain the account of the six days of the material creation, cannot show how six proceeds from two by three ($6=3 \times 2$). If our fragments of Hippolytus' commentary on the Hexaemeron were not so very meagre, we should be able probably to prove this explanation by the method employed by him.

dreams of the author. His ethical system seems a bold carrying out of the first sentence mentioned above: "Desisting from seeking God, nature, and what belongs to them, seek thou thyself from thyself, and say — 'My God is my mind, my thought, my soul, my body;' and thou wilt find thyself in thyself, as the one and the whole."

XXVI. TATIAN, the disciple of Justin Martyr. — On his opinions we have only five lines (p. 273. 52—56.), copied almost literally from Irenæus (i. 31.), after his Introduction (i. 30.) had been given in a more concise form. The following comparison of those five lines shows the identity, and gives sense to a corrupt passage in our text:—

IRENÆUS (i. 31.).

(Τατιανός) Ἰουστίνου ἀκροατῆς γεγωνώς ἐφόσον μὲν συνῆν ἐκείνῳ οὐδὲν ἐξέφηνε τοιοῦτον· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου μαρτυρίαν ἀποστὰς τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἰήματι διδασκάλου ἐπαρθείς, καὶ τυφωθεὶς ὡς διαφύρων τῶν λοιπῶν, ἴδιον χαρακτήρα διδασκαλείου συνεστήσατο, αἰῶνάς τινας ἀοράτους ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου μυθολογήσας· τὸν γάμον τε φθορὰν καὶ πορνείαν παραπλησίως Μαρκίῳ καὶ Σατορνίνῳ ἀναγορεύσας· τῇ δὲ τοῦ Ἀδὰμ σωτηρίᾳ παρ' ἑαυτοῦ τὴν ἀντιλογίαν (τ. αἰτιολογίαν) ποιησάμενος.

HIPPOLYTUS.

Τατιανὸς δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς γενόμενος μαθητῆς Ἰουστίνου τοῦ μάρτυρος, οὐκ ὅμοια τῷ διδασκάλῳ ἐφρόνησεν, ἀλλὰ καινὰ τινα ἐπιχειρήσας ἔφη αἰῶνάς τινας παρὰ τοὺς (l. ἀοράτους) ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀπὸ Οὐαλεντίνου μυθολογήσασιν (l. μυθολογήσας). Γάμον δὲ φθορὰν εἶναι παραπλησίως Μαρκίῳ λέγει. Τὸν δὲ Ἀδὰμ φάσκει μὴ σώζεσθαι, διὰ τὸ ἀρχηγὸν παρακοῆς γεγονέναι.

XXVII. HERMOGENES: only one page: yet containing much to illustrate what we know about the Carthaginian painter from his cotemporary countryman and adversary, Tertullian (*Adv. Hermogenem*), and from Theodoret (i. 19.).—He said, God had made all from Matter coeval with himself, and not begotten: God overruled her, and produced order out of her confusion; but still there remained a disorderly residue (*ἄκοσμος*). What is original in this, observes Hippolytus, has been much better said by Plato, in a myth related by Socrates. As to Christ, Hermogenes acknowledged him as the son of the Virgin, and believed in his resurrection: he had ascended to the heavens, and left his body in the sun: an idea which he fantastically supported by the words of Ps. xix. 4., as Clemens in his “*Hypotyposes*” also expressly stated this to have been the interpretation given by Hermogenes (*Eclogæ prophet.* § 56.). Neander, whose article on Hermogenes’ system is admirable in every respect (i. 973—978.), did not, probably, think of that passage in Clemens, when he gave the same explanation as his guess (i. 978. n. i.).

XXVIII. The QUARTODECIMANI, or those who about the middle and latter part of the second century insisted upon celebrating Easter always on the fourteenth day of the first moon after the vernal equinox, without any reference to the day of the week.—This original, but short, article becomes in some respects the most important of the whole, as

far as the authorship of the book is concerned. The words quoted from it are not found in our text. At first sight the case is rather startling. For it appears, that, if we admit the authenticity of the quotation, we must give up the identity of our work with that quoted. But I maintain that, in spite of appearances, this very quotation is a proof of the identity of the work. For I can show that we have in our book all but the literal text quoted by bishop Peter; and that this passage is a new proof, that in many articles of the sixth, seventh, and eighth books in particular, we have an abstract only of the text of Hippolytus. This opinion became probable to me from the incomplete state of some other articles. But here it is demonstrable, that there is a want of connection in the argument; and what is wanted to restore sense to the text, and connection to the argument, is exactly what is auspiciously supplied by the quotation.

As this passage is of such importance, I must first give you the whole article as it now stands, and then bishop Peter of Alexandria's quotation:—

"Some others, contentious in their nature, simpletons in knowledge, pugnacious in disposition, maintain that it is necessary to keep Easter on the fourteenth day of the first month, according to the command of the law, on whatever day it falls, apprehensive of what is written in the law, that 'cursed shall he be who does not keep it as it is ordered;' not heeding that the

law was given to the Jews, who were to kill the true passover, that which is gone forth to the nations, and is received by faith, not kept now by the letter. Attending to this one injunction, they lose sight of what the Apostle saith (Gal. v. 3.): 'I testify to every one who is circumcised, that he is a debtor to the whole law.' In other points these people agree with everything which has been delivered to the Church by the Apostles."

The text of Peter of Alexandria's quotation preserved in the introduction to the "Chronicon Paschale," runs thus:—

"Hippolytus, the witness of religion, who was bishop of the so-called Portus, near Rome, has written literally thus in his 'Treatise against all the Heresies:—'I therefore see that there is a contentiousness in this affair. For he (the adversary, the Quartodeciman) says thus: "Christ celebrated the passover on that very day, and suffered: I therefore must also do as the Lord did." But he is wrong from not knowing that, when Christ suffered, he did not eat the passover according to the law. For he was the passover which had been foretold, and which was accomplished on the day appointed.'"

There is no mistaking the sense of this passage, or of another from Hippolytus' "Treatise on the Passover," which Peter subjoins. Hippolytus and Peter both maintained, the Quartodecimans were wrong from the very beginning; for Christ himself did not

eat the passover on the day appointed by the law, for the simple reason, that, according to the true historical account of St. John and the tradition of the fathers, Christ suffered death on the fourteenth day of the month, and therefore had eaten, but not the paschal lamb. The law of Moses therefore held good for the proper time only, until Christ's death: and this was right: for then the symbol ceased; the true paschal lamb had been offered.

We have therefore two arguments; the one which we read now in our text, and that quoted by Peter. The one contents itself with simply flinging back upon the Quartodecimans the letter of the law which they quote, proving that, if they will stick to that letter, they must keep every tittle of the law, in spite of their being Christians. This is a most sound and apostolical argument, which, by the by, may well be used in our days against many divergent Judaizing heresies around us. But certainly by itself it hardly meets the question. The poor Quartodecimans, assailed by this argument, would say: "All very well, if you prove to us that what we do is wrong. But the simple fact, that we are not bound to keep the whole law, does not prove that we are wrong because we do keep it in this point." This natural reply would then call forth the second argument:—"Well then, you are wrong on this particular point: Christ's own conduct proves that this law ceased to be binding when he was to die: at that time he did not eat the symbo-

lical passover; for he was himself the real passover. And therefore on the day, on the evening of which the Jews eat their passover, he expired." To this of course would be added the explanation, that there was no irregularity in this, but, on the contrary, a fulfilment of the law: the reality appearing, the shadow ceased.

Our text has only the first argument explicitly; but the second is directly alluded to in a sentence, which concludes with a phrase quite in the character of our book and author, and is an imitation of the striking passage in the First Epistle to Timothy (iii. 16.): "He who was manifest in the flesh, justified in the spirit, seen of angels, preached unto the Gentiles, believed on in the world, received up into glory." Now, we must recollect, that Hippolytus is here on his own ground, that he had argued this point for many years, more than any of his contemporaries, and that he is the great authority of his time on the subject. Of all the disputes in the world, Hippolytus had not taken so much trouble with any as about this. His Paschal Cycle is represented, as his most glorious monument and relic, on the cathedra on which his statue is seated, erected to him probably within a century after his death; and his celebrated "Treatise on the Passover" is quoted on that monument, and referred to by his learned Alexandrian brother about seventy years later. How then can we believe Hippolytus

to have treated this argument so negligently and meagerly in a book on which he had spent so much time and inquiry, as he continually says? We can show, therefore, not only that our book contains the sense of the article which Peter of Alexandria quoted from Hippolytus' treatise "Against all the Heresies;" but also that what we read in it is nothing but an abstract, carelessly made, from the original work. Compare the words at the beginning of our article, "Ἐτεροι δέ τινες φιλόνηκοι τὴν φύσιν, ἰδιῶται τὴν γνώσιν, and the words of Peter's quotation, 'Ὁρῶ μὲν οὖν ὅτι φιλονεικίας τὸ ἔργον. These words of the quotation must not be taken as corresponding to the passage in which that contentiousness (*φιλονεικία*) is said to be characteristic of the sect. But they refer evidently to that passage with which our article begins, and which consequently must have immediately preceded the words quoted by bishop Peter: "I *therefore* see that there is contentiousness in the affair." We are thus led to the same conclusion to which we came in the seventh book: our MS. has not a lacuna in this place; but in this article, and probably in many other passages where the text is not clear and where something seems wanting, we have only an abridgment from Hippolytus' original work, and that a very stupid and careless one. I have already observed, how short the present book is, and how meagre

certain articles are in the sixth book, and still more in the seventh.

Thus, what might appear at first sight a stumbling-stone, turns out to be a curious and striking proof of Hippolytus' authorship. We can prove his authorship by this quotation of a passage, which, though not found in our text, is necessary to make the argument clear and of any force. We have the same argument, the same meaning, although not the same words.

XXIX. The MONTANISTS (Epiph. H. 28.; Theodoret, iii. 3.), or, as they are called here, the *Phrygians* (Φρύγες).—They referred their origin to a person of the name of Montanus, and were deceived by two women, their prophetesses (*clairvoyantes* *), Priscilla and Maximilla, who, they pretended, saw certain matters, through the Paraclete in them (τὸ Παρακλήτου πνεῦμα), better than Christ himself. Some of them, he adds, partake of the heresy of the Noetians, and maintain that the Father himself has become subject to being born, to suffering and to death. It is to be remarked, that Hippolytus says nothing of the scandalous mys-

* That the whole was an ordinary magnetic process seems to me proved by Montanus' own words about himself (Epiph. Hær. 28. § 4. p. 405.): "Lo the man is like a lyre; and I play upon him (literally, fly about) like the plectrum. The man sleeps, and I am awake. Lo it is the Lord who entrances (ὁ ἐκστήσας) the hearts of men, and gives hearts to men."

teries and abominable child-sacrifices with which Epiphanius charges some of this sect. Theodoret adds, with reference to this charge, that others call it a calumny; which most probably it was, although Phrygia seems always to have been the country of orgiastic mysteries, and insane abominations.

Hippolytus may not have known this charge, or not thought it worth while expressly to contradict it. But the whole article is very meagre, and, if not an abstract, would certainly be a proof that he forgot what he had promised to do, and what at the end he congratulates himself on having done. Our article passes in silence over the assertions of the Montanists respecting the Spirit and the sacraments, and over their prohibition of second marriages, mentioning, as their errors, only their new-fangled feasts and festivals, and the injunctions of those women respecting the eating of dry things and of radishes, and then self-complacently winds up this meagre account in 22 lines, not containing one word of quotation from their text-books, with these words: "I think I have said enough about them, having briefly shown to all, that their many prating books and pretensions are weak, unworthy of regard, and such as no man of a sound mind ought to attend to."

It may be said that Hippolytus expresses his intention to write more in detail about them on a future occasion: but as he mentions the eating of

radishes, he may be supposed to have at least slightly touched upon the more important points.

XXX. The ENCRATITES, heretical only in their precepts forbidding animal food, enjoining water-drinking, prohibiting marriage, and prescribing fasts fitter for Cynics than for Christians, as our author says. He opposes to them the wise words of "the blessed apostle Paul" (1 Timothy, iv. 5.), as a sufficient refutation, and then concludes the book with the general observation, that he thought it advisable not to say a word about the *Caianites*, *Ophites*, or *Noachites*, because otherwise some might think them worthy of attention.* All that remains for him to examine is the heresies of his own time.

This is the subject of the next book. As I shall have to treat the historical part of this book, so far as it throws a new light upon the history of the bishops of Rome at that time, in my next letter, and the doctrinal part in the following, I shall here only give very briefly the contents of the ninth book, so far as it relates to those two heresies.

IX. BOOK.

The *Noetians*, afterwards also called the *Callistians* (292.), and the *Elchasaites*; with an appendix, re-

* p. 277. 49—53. I read: *ἵνα μὴ κἀν ἐν τούτῳ τινες* (t. *τινας*) *αὐτοὺς λόγον* (t. *ἢ λόγου*) *ἀξιους ἡγῶνται* (cod. *ἡγίωμαι*. Ed. *αὐτοὺς . . . ἡγῶνται*).

specting the three principal sects of the Jews, the *Pharisees*, *Sadducees*, and *Essenes* (p. 279—309.): 31 pages.

XXXI. The NOETIANS.—We learn here many things entirely unknown hitherto. First, the real genealogy of the sect. Our Church historians had hitherto believed*, on the faith of Theodoret (iii. 3.), that Noetus of Smyrna only renewed the opinions of Epigonus and Cleomenes, two heretics of whom we knew nothing. Perhaps the less clear words of our author, in the epitome at the end of his work, may be the source of the whole mistake. At all events we now know the truth. Theodoret's words are only a blunder or a misinterpretation. In our passage, Noetus is said to have based his doctrine upon that of Heraclitus; and it is then added, that it was the deacon Epigonus (was Noetus a bishop?), his disciple, who first spread Noetus' doctrine at Rome. He again had a disciple, Cleomenes, a stranger to the Church by his life and manners, who did much harm, being favoured by Zephyrinus and Callistus. The Noetian doctrine therefore is not, as Neander supposes, older than Noetus, who, according to this, must have taught at Smyrna about the year 200.

* Neander, Kircheng. i. 1006. Anm. Theodoret says that Cleomenes was the teacher of Noetus: this is evidently a mistake of the compiler. He was the disciple of the successor of Noetus.

Secondly; we learn that the name of Callistians, given to that sect, which name we knew hitherto only from Theodoret's mentioning it without any further explanation, is derived from no less a personage than Callistus, bishop of Rome under Caracalla and Heliogabalus from 219 to 222, the successor of Zephyrinus, bishop from 200 to 218, and predecessor of Urbanus, who was bishop from 223 to 230.

Thirdly; we get from our book a new, important fragment of Heraclitus, and much new evidence about his system. Our author, applying his constant method to Noetus, proves first, that logically he stands upon Heraclitus' saying (like that of Hegel), "that every thing is also its own contrary." In order to substantiate this, he not only refers briefly to what he had said of Heraclitus in his second book, but brings new passages and arguments to bear upon this question: which renders these pages (282, 283.) very important for the history of ancient philosophy. After this prefatory refutation, Hippolytus gives us the systems both of Noetus himself (p. 284.) and of Callistus (p. 289.), mainly in their own words. I think it will illustrate these two heresies to place them in juxtaposition:—

The system of NOETUS, as expounded by Cleomenes and his School.

"When the Father was not yet generated, he was justly called Father. But

The system of CALLISTUS.

"The same Logos is the Son, the same the Father, so called by name, but one

when he was pleased to suffer birth, he became, when engendered, himself the Son of himself, not of any one else." He pretends that "the Father and Son are one and the same, being so called, not as proceeding one out of the other, but himself from himself. He was called Father and Son according to the difference of times; but He is one, He who appeared, and endured to be born of a Virgin, and conversed among men as a Man, confessing himself to those who saw him, to be the Son, by reason of his birth, yet not concealing from those who were able to understand it, that he was the Father." (284.)

undivided Spirit. * The Father is not one being, the Son another, but one and the same: and all is full of the divine Spirit, the things above and the things below; and the Spirit that became flesh in the Virgin is not different from the Father, but one and the same. This is the meaning of the words: 'Dost thou not believe that I am in the Father, and the Father in me?' For what is seen, which is Man, is the Son; but the Spirit that dwells in the Son is the Father: for I will not say there are two Gods, the Father and the Son, but One. The Father, who was in the Son, took flesh and made it God, uniting it to himself, and made it One. The Father and Son was therefore the name of one God; and this One person (πρόσωπον) cannot be two: the Father consequently suffered with the Son."

* 289. 7. ἔφηνεν αἵρεσιν τοιάνδε' λέγων τὸν λόγον αὐτὸν εἶναι υἱὸν, αὐτὸν καὶ πατέρα ὀνόματι μὲν καλούμενον, ἐν δὲ ὄντι πνεῦμα ἀδιαίρετον. The text has ἐν δὲ ὄντι πν. ἀδ. What follows shows that this correction is no less certain than easy. The learned

The Noetians further say (p. 283.), "There is one and the same God, the Creator (Demiurg) and Father of all."

In this exposition Hippolytus supposes every one to know, that Noetus calls the Father and the Son one and the same being (pp. 285. 287.). But as to Callistus, he gives a personal, and as it were historical, explanation, in which he tries to show that Callistus invented a new form of the heresy for two reasons. First, he was obliged to make good his strong word against Hippolytus and his friends among the Roman presbytery, "You are *Ditheoi* (ditheists)," men who set up two Gods, and thus destroy the unity of God. Secondly, Sabellius, who appears here in his first stage, urged him from his point of view to take that course. Hippolytus' severest censure on Callistus' doctrine is that it was the offspring of an insincere mind, opposed to truth, and actuated by bad motives. Callistus (says Hippolytus, in reference to the expressions, that the "Father suffered *with* the Son") wishes to avoid saying that the Father suffered, and that there is only one person, hoping thus to escape the blasphemy against the Father.*

editor thinks the passage is unintelligible, because mutilated: I think it simply corrupted.

* p. 289. οὐ γὰρ θέλει λέγειν τὸν πατέρα πεπονθέναι καὶ ἐν εἶναι πρόσωπον [οὕτω πως ἐλπίζων] ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν εἰς τὸν πατέρα βλασφημίαν. The words between brackets, or some to the same purport, must be inserted to fill up the chasm, the existence of which has not been overlooked by the learned editor.

"That foolish, shifting fellow, who, inventing blasphemies above and below, in order to speak against the truth, sometimes is not ashamed to fall into the doctrine of Sabellius, sometimes into that of Theodotus." It is evident, therefore, that he finds in Callistianism the heresy of the Theodotians as well as something of Sabellianism.

I shall treat of all the genuine and spurious writings which bear Hippolytus' name in my fifth letter. But I must beg you here to compare this exposition and refutation of the system of Noetus with the "Homily of Hippolytus about the heresy of a certain Noetus." Montfaucon found the Greek text of this special treatise, and sent it to Fabricius, who published it in the second volume of his learned, but very confused and ill-digested edition of Hippolytus (pp. 5—20.), having given the Latin text in the first volume (p. 235. sqq.). It appears to me impossible not to see that the author is the same, but that the homily never formed part of the work on all the heresies. Its method and tone are those of a sermon, not of a historian writing on doctrinal controversies.

You will observe finally, that, when Epiphanius says Noetus lived about 130 years before the year in which he himself wrote (375 P. C.), or about the year 245, he is evidently inaccurate in this as in many other points of ancient ecclesiastical history and chro-

nology. The groundlessly suspected statement, that Noetus was condemned (or censured) by a Roman Synod under Victor (188—198), is, on the other hand, no way improbable, so far at least as that Noetus, according to the authentic account before us, must have promulgated his doctrine in the last decad of the second century. Through the support his doctrine gained at Rome, it spread over the whole world, as Hippolytus says (p. 292.).

XXXII. The ELCHASAITES. — This article is almost entirely new. What was known about the name of the book or the author, was very little and confused. A Syrian, Alcibiades of Apamea, we hear from Hippolytus, a deceitful and senseless man, who (says our author) thought himself a still greater conjuror than Callistus, came to Rome, bringing with him a sacred book. The story about this fabulous book is, that a just man, Elchasai (Ἐλχασαί), had got it from the Parthians and given it to a certain Sobai. It had been inspired by an angel, of whose dimensions it will suffice here to say, that his footsteps measured in length fifteen miles (breadth and height being in proportion); which beats the seven-league-boots man of the old story hollow. By this book a new remission of all sins was announced to mankind, in the third year of Trajan (100 of our era). Those who had fallen into all vice, and even into the most beastly crimes and sins, were to be

admitted to a new baptism for the remission of their sins. He endeavoured to attach this system of his to Callistianism. We (says Hippolytus) resisted this unholy attempt, and will now unveil the whole heresy.

As a bait, Alcibiades prescribed circumcision, and living according to the law. Christ had been born a man like other men; but there had been other Christs before him, and there would still be others. He used mathematical and astrological formulas, borrowed from the Pythagoreans, and employed charms and incantations against demoniacs, dogbitten persons and other sick. The second baptism took place in the name of the Great God; and he who was to receive it was made to call the seven angels as witnesses: heaven, water, and earth, all spirits, and the angels of prayer. Hippolytus gives the very words of these truly juggling Oriental impostures (pp. 294, 295.).

And here I am at the end of my second letter, which has grown a good deal longer than I expected. Looking back to the three points I undertook to prove, I believe I have established them pretty satisfactorily. For I have shown that the work contains just *thirty-two heresies*. I have also shown that

this account begins with the earliest Judaizing Gnostics (the Naassenes and their followers), by Photius incorrectly designated as Dositheans, who were a Judaic sect, and not heretics, but who, as representatives of that oldest class of heretics, are also alluded to in the beginning of the treatise on heresies appended to Tertullian's book, "*De Præscriptionibus Hæreticorum*." Our work, therefore, begins, in fact, as Photius says: so too does it end. Photius states, that the last of the thirty-two heresies refuted by Hippolytus was that of the Noetians: we have found this to be the thirty-first. But our author evidently treats the Elchasaite heresy, which, according to our method of counting the articles in our work, is the thirty-second, as a short appendix to the Noetian school. Indeed Alcibiades of Apamea, who taught that heresy at Rome under the episcopate, and as it were the patronage, of Callistus, was intimately connected with the Noetian school.

No one who is acquainted with Irenæus, and the other authors on the heresies, will pretend that this coincidence can be accidental.

I have moreover given many proofs during the examination of these thirty-two heresies, that what Photius states (from Hippolytus' own words) as to the relation of this treatise to that of Irenæus, is fully borne out by our text. But I have neither done with my argument, nor with the subject.

In my next letter I shall have to examine our author's account of his own position at Rome, and his relations to the Roman bishops of his time. I promise it shall be short; and I hope it will not be without interest.

Ever your faithful friend,

BUNSEN.

THIRD LETTER.

THE GOVERNMENT AND CONDITION OF THE CHURCH OF
ROME UNDER ZEPHYRINUS AND CALLISTUS (199—222),
ACCORDING TO ST. HIPPOLYTUS, MEMBER OF THE ROMAN
PRESBYTERY AND BISHOP OF PORTUS.

Carlton Terrace, June 23. 1851.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

I HAVE left out in my extracts from the ninth book what may appear to most readers, if not the most important, certainly either the most amusing or the most painful part of Hippolytus' work, the history of the bishops of Rome in his time.

I have done so for two reasons. One is, that this matter has nothing to do, either with the special argument of my second letter, or with the merit or demerit of the theological views. For we must judge Noetianism independently of the question whether Callistus, the bishop of Rome, who supported it, deserved to be declared a saint of the Roman Church, or was a rogue and convict, as his brother bishop, a member of his presbytery, says of him. I should be very sorry to be instrumental in degrading our good bishop Hippolytus' grave work into a *chronique scandaleuse* of the Church of Rome. In uncovering the scandals of that Church,

the historian must not forget what the pages of history relate of those of Byzantine court orthodoxy, or of Frank and French royal proselytism. It would be unjust to visit the inherent vices of all churches, from the management of which the people are excluded, upon Rome alone, merely because, out of a number of instances, this story, belonging to an age of bigotry and general decay, has just now by chance been revealed to us.

My second reason is, that the whole account deserves a historical and philosophical consideration by itself. It is a piece of history highly important for the knowledge of the government of the Church at that time, and for understanding the spirit of the age. I shall therefore devote the present letter to a historical elucidation of the matter, reducing the fervent language of our author to a calm relation of the tale he has to tell, and attempting an impartial review of the proceedings he mentions. It cannot be denied, that our good father, when he comes to this point, raises the tone of his voice to the pitch of indignant anger.

We know that in the latter years of the reign of the unworthy son of the philosophical and virtuous but inefficient emperor Marcus Aurelius, Commodus, his mistress Marcia played a conspicuous part in the history of the palace. She married, as a matter of course it would appear, the captain of the guards, and was believed to exercise a great influence on the

emperor. When his brutal temper became unbearable, she was privy to the conspiracy which put him to death by poison and suffocation.

Of this Marcia we knew already, from Dion, that she was very kind to the Christians. We learn now from Hippolytus, that she was Godloving (*φιλόθεος*), that is to say, that she had been converted to the Christian faith.*

The part she acts in the life of Callistus is peculiarly interesting. There was under Commodus, when Victor was bishop of Rome, a good Christian soul called Carpophorus, who had a Christian slave, of the name of Callistus. To help him on, he gave him the administration of a bank, which he kept in that celebrated quarter of Rome called the *Piscina publica*. Many brethren and widows trusted their money to this bank, having great faith in the Christian character of Carpophorus. But Callistus turned out a rogue: he made away with the sums intrusted to him; and when the depositors wanted their money, it was gone. Their complaints came before Carpophorus; he asked for the accounts; and when the fraud could no longer be concealed, Callistus made his escape. He ran down to the harbour, Portus, some twenty miles from

* Her marriage with the captain, when she was the emperor's mistress, is awkward. The legal concubine of an unbeliever was not excluded by the canons of the time from the communion of the Church, as long as she kept only to the man she lived with.

Rome, found a ship ready to start, and embarked. Carpophorus was not slow to follow him, and found the ship moored in the middle of the harbour. He took a boat to claim the criminal. Callistus, seeing no escape, threw himself into the sea, and was with difficulty saved, and delivered up to his master, who, taking the matter into his own hands, gave him the domestic treadmill of the Roman slave-owners, the *pistrinum*. Some time passed, and, as is wont to happen (says Hippolytus), some brethren came to Carpophorus, and said he ought to give poor Callistus a fair chance of regaining his character, or at least his money. He pretended he had money outstanding, and that, if he could only go about, he should recover it. "Well," said good Carpophorus, "let him go and try what he can recover: I do not care much for my own money, but I mind that of the poor widows." So Callistus went out on a Sabbath (Saturday), pretending he had to recover some money from the Jews, but in fact having resolved to do something desperate, which might put an end to his life, or give a turn to his case. He went into a synagogue and raised a great riot there, saying he was a Christian, and interrupting their service. The Jews were of course enraged at this insult, fell upon him, beat him, and then carried him before Fuscianus, the prefect of Rome. When this judge, a very severe man, was hearing the cause, somebody recognized Callistus, and ran to tell Carpophorus what was going on. Carpophorus went immediately

to the court, and said : " This fellow is no Christian, but wants to get rid of his life, having robbed me of much money, as I will prove." The Jews, thinking this was a Christian stratagem to save Callistus, insisted upon having him punished for disturbing them in the lawful exercise of their worship. Fuscianus therefore sentenced him to be scourged, and then transported to the unwholesome parts of Sardinia, so fatal to life in summer (Strabo, v. 2. § 7, 8.).

Some time after, says Hippolytus, Marcia, wishing to do a good work, sent for bishop Victor and asked what Christians had been transported to Sardinia; adding, she would beg the emperor to release them. The bishop made out a list of them; but, being a judicious and righteous man, omitted the name of Callistus, knowing the offence he had committed.

Marcia obtained the letter of pardon; and Hyacinthus, a eunuch (of the service of the palace undoubtedly), and a presbyter (of the Church), was dispatched to the governor of the island to claim and bring back the martyrs. Hyacinthus delivered his list: and Callistus, finding his name was not upon it, began to lament and entreat, and at last moved Hyacinthus to demand his liberation also. Here the text is somewhat obscure; but thus much is clear, that his liberation was obtained by bringing the name of Marcia into play.*

* Ὁ δὲ (Callistus) γονυπετῶν καὶ δακρύων ἰκέτευε καὶ αὐτὸς τυχεῖν ἀπολύσεως. Δυσωπηθεὶς οὖν ὁ Ὑάκινθος ἀξιοῖ τὸν ἐπι-

When Callistus made his appearance, Victor was very much vexed; the scandal had not been forgotten, and Carpophorus (his lawful master) was still alive. So he sent him off to Antium (Porto d'Anzo), and gave him a certain sum a month. Whether it was here Callistus fell in with Zephyrinus, or at Rome itself, no sooner was Carpophorus dead, than Zephyrinus, now become bishop of Rome, made him his coadjutor to keep his clergy in order, and gave himself up to him so entirely, that Callistus did with him what he liked. Unfortunately, says Hippolytus, Zephyrinus was not only very stupid and ignorant, but, loving money very much, took bribes. Things went on in this way until Zephyrinus died, when

τροπον φάσκων θρέψαι εἶναι Μαρτίας τασσόμενος αὐτῷ τὸ ἀκίνδυνον. Ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἀπέλυσε καὶ τὸν Κάλλιστον. The learned editor says:—"In θρέψαι vocabulum latere videtur significans negligentiam (un oubli)." But who can construe the rest of the phrase? I believe, first, that what the distressed eunuch said was not true (φάσκων); and, secondly, that it was something which must have given the governor a reasonable assurance for his own safety. Proceeding upon this supposition, I am led to think our author wrote: ἀξιῶ τὸν ἐπίτροπον ἀπολύειν· φάσκων ἐαυτῷ μὲν τοῦτο ἐπιτρέψαι Μαρτίαν τὸ τασσόμενον, αὐτῷ δὲ εἶναι ἀκίνδυνον. The sense would be: "The eunuch asked the governor to set Callistus free; saying, Marcia gave him full power (left it to his discretion), and there could be no danger for him (the governor) in the affair." Ἀπολύειν was left out at all events. Ἐπιτρέψαι is used in the sense of giving authority to decide, to arbitrate: the dative of the person can scarcely have been left out, although the accusative is left out in Attic writers. The rest supposes only a confusion and subsequent transposition of the words.

Callistus was elected to the eminent post he had coveted all the time. He became bishop * of Rome, and the theological disputes in that Church began to be envenomed.

Noetus' sect was already spreading in Rome. Sabellius was a rising man, and began his speculations. Hippolytus gives us clearly to understand that, backed by others of the presbytery, he had already remonstrated against some of Sabellius' speculations on the Trinity, in the time of Zephyrinus. "Now," he adds (p. 285.), "Sabellius was softened by these our remonstrances: but, when he was alone with Callistus" (who then protected and favoured the Noetian Theological College established at Rome, and at that time presided over by Cleomenes, the disciple of Noetus' ancient deacon or minister), "Callistus excited him to turn towards the system of Cleomenes, pretending that they agreed. He did not, however, side openly with Sabellius, but in private told each party, that he was favourable to their views, set-

* Callistus is the only authentic name of this pope, the successor of Zephyrinus. Not only all ancient authors, but also the "Catalogus Liberianus," the only ancient and authentic list of the early Roman bishops, compiled in 352, spell his name as the Greek etymology (Κάλλιστος, Formosissimus) requires. In my restoration of the chronology of the early Roman bishops, which I intend to publish with some other collateral records and inquiries respecting the history of the second century, I have shown that the name *Calixtus* appears first in a list of the eleventh century; *Calistus* formed the transition.

ting them as much as he could against each other."* Now Sabellius, says Hippolytus, did not at that time see through the roguery of Callistus; but he afterwards knew it.

For, when Callistus had been made bishop of Rome, he threw off Sabellius as not orthodox. "He did so," continues Hippolytus, "because he was afraid of me, and thought he might in this manner wash off the accusation which lay against him before the Church, showing himself not to be heterodox." But now the question arose how he could set himself right with Hippolytus and his party. For they, under Zephyrinus, had resisted Sabellius, then favoured by the episcopal influence; and Callistus, having at that time the bishop and most of the presbyters with him (p. 285. 1.), had insulted Hippolytus and his friends by saying to them in the open presbytery, "You are ditheists." Now Callistus, says Hippolytus, thought he must make good those insulting words; and therefore, instead of giving honour

* I have rendered the sense. The monstrous text reads thus (p. 285.):—*Αὐτοῖς τὰ ἀμφοτέρω μέρη ὕστερον κερκωπέιους λόγους πρὸς ἑαυτοῦ φιλίαν κατασκευάζων καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθειαν λέγων ὁμοία φρονουσί ποτε καθ' ἑδῖαν τὰ ὁμοία φρονεῖν, ἡπάτα πάλιν δ' αὐτοῖς τὰ Σαβελλίου ὁμοίως.* The learned editor proposes:—*λέγων τὰ ὁμοία φρονεῖν ἡπάτα πάλιν δ' αὐτοῖς φρονουσί ποτε καθ' ἑδῖαν τὰ Σαβ.,* which does not seem to me very clear. I conceive the text may be restored thus: *καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἀλήθειαν φρονουσί ποτε καθ' ἑδῖαν τὰ ὁμοία φρονεῖν λέγων ἡπάτα· πάλιν δ' αὖ τοῖς τὰ Σαβελλίου ὁμοίως.*

to the truth, and saying, "As Sabellius is wrong, you are right," he gave the Noetian heresy that turn, the formula of which I have placed opposite to that of Noetus (or Cleomenes) himself. He established a school, in which that doctrine was taught, as Hippolytus says, in opposition to the Church.

But he did worse as to practical Christianity, adds our father. To the satisfaction of a great many who for misconduct had been removed from the communion of the Church, and now flocked to that school, he set up the doctrine "that he forgave the sins of all." In order to screen himself, he further laid down the principle: "If a bishop commits a sin, be it even a sin unto death, he must not be deposed (or obliged to abdicate) for all that."

This was a bold measure. For at that time, although the congregational rights of the laity had been suppressed, except in their sanction to the election of a bishop, the presbytery still claimed, and more or less maintained, a supreme judicial power in matters of faith and discipline.

Now what was the consequence? Bishops, presbyters, and deacons were received into orders, after having been married twice, or even thrice. Even he who married, when already in orders, might do so undisturbed. "Did not our Saviour say, Let the tares grow with the wheat? Were there not unclean beasts in the Ark? Such, therefore, must also be in the Church." These and like scrip-

tural arguments were brought forward by Callistus. No wonder his party increased wonderfully. He particularly favoured single ladies of rank, who wished to have a substitute for a husband in the humble form of a slave, or of a low-born freeman, and who might prefer having no children, so as not to displease their relations: for these would not be so severe if their large property remained in the family.* In short, Callistus must have preached, according to Hippolytus, something like Molière's *Tartuffe*:

"Il y a avec le ciel des accommodemens."

Such was Callistus' conduct according to Hippolytus; his school was still flourishing, and its followers and abettors were called from their founder *Callistians*.

This is the substance of Hippolytus' account. In fact, we find the name of Callistians mentioned by Theodoret, under the head of the Noetians.

Leaving Callistus personally to the judgment of

* The Greek text, with some emendations, runs thus (p. 291.): — Διὸ καὶ πληθύνονται, γαυριώμενοι ἐπὶ ὄχλοις διὰ τὰς ἡδονὰς αἷς οὐ συνεχώρησεν ὁ Χριστός· οὐ καταφρονήσαντες οὐδένα ἁμαρτεῖν κωλύουσι, φάσκοντες αὐτὸν ἀφίεναι τοῖς εὐδοκοῦσι· καὶ γὰρ καὶ γυναιξὶν ἐν ἀξίᾳ ἐπέτρεψεν, εἰ ἄνδρου εἶεν καὶ ἡλικία γε ἐκαίοντο, τηρεῖν ἑαυτῶν ἀξίαν ἣν μὴ βούλοιντο καθαιρεῖν. Διὰ τοῦτο νομίμως γαμηθῆναι ἔχει ἕνα ὃν ἂν αἰρήσωνται σύγκοιτον, εἴτε οἰκίτην εἴτε ἐλεύθερον, καὶ τοῦτον κρίνειν ἀντὶ ἀνδρός μὴ νόμῳ γεγαμημένην. Ἐνθεν ἤρξαντο ἐπιχειρεῖν πισταὶ λεγόμενα ἀτοκίους φαρμάκοις καὶ τῷ περιδυσμῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ τὰ συλλαμβανόμενα καταβάλλειν, διὰ τὸ μήτε ἐκ δούλου βούλεσθαι ἔχειν τέκνον μήτε ἐξ εὐτελοῦς, διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν καὶ ὑπέρρογκον οὐσίαν.

God, I will only suggest two observations. In the first place we must not forget, in judging of the system here represented under such high colours, that Hippolytus and his minority belonged to a very strict party, who, like the old Jansenists, may have excluded many a truly penitent sinner from the communion of the Church, not considering how many must always be retained in a community, even with the severest discipline, whose hypocrisy is worse than the open sins of many. The system of censorial discipline adopted by the earliest Christians changed its character necessarily, when exercised by a sacerdotal caste, governing large congregations, nay, whole populations, and became full of inextricable difficulties, and inward contradictions. Such being the case, the Roman Church has, on the whole, always inclined to a moderate exercise of the power of punishment and exclusion, keeping in mind rather the practical view of a government, than the theoretical one of a moral censorship. The strife between Romanism and Montanism is in this respect the same in substance as that between Jesuitism and Jansenism; and Hippolytus in general takes the line of the Montanists, although he condemned their doctrinal system. This applies to both the points of discipline touched upon in this remarkable book, — the indulgence shown to laymen who had sinned against morality, and the treatment of the sins of presbyters, who had offended against

that limited celibacy of the clergy, which then obtained in the West, as it still does in the East. The system was wrong in itself, like that of all priest-churches. Do what you will, you cannot obtain a clear and truly Christian solution. Therefore historians must judge individuals, during the struggle of the two contending parties, rather by their lives than by their systems.

I must, to a certain degree, say the same as to the second, the doctrinal point. According to Hippolytus, Callistus was not only the moral, but also the doctrinal corrupter of his Church and age. We shall have to consider this point in the next letter; but I must here express my conviction that the difficulties of the case are essentially the same. Good and wise men might adopt — and could scarcely help adopting, according to their temper and education — opposite views, and might condemn each other most uncharitably (and most unphilosophically); but impartial history must give its due share to the tragical complications of the times.

Before I conclude this letter, I must advert to a double mistake into which the learned editor has fallen respecting the history of Fuscianus' judgment upon Callistus.* First he takes this to have been the martyrdom of Callistus, meaning his death, thus identifying that scene therewith; although it is quite clear from Hippolytus' account, that

* Preface, p. ix.

his condemnation to Sardinia, so far from causing his death, on the contrary made his fortune. He returned from that island to Rome, and became the friend of the bishop, and finally his successor. The ground of M. Miller's mistake seems to have been, that our author prefaces his account of Callistus' proceedings by the ironical phrase (p. 285. 8.): "He became a martyr (*ἐμαρτύρησε*) under Fuscianus, then prefect of Rome; and the manner of his martyrdom (*μαρτυρία*) was the following." Then follows Callistus' swindling conduct, as the slave of Carpophorus, his deportation and return.

Indeed, his condemnation would have been a martyrdom, which, in Greek, means testimony, if in any way it had been connected with the confession of his faith as a Christian before the penal judge: for our story is one of the proofs that the penal laws against Christianity as an unlawful religion were not abolished under Commodus, as some have supposed. There were in Sardinia other Christians condemned on that score; and they are called "martyrs" by our author (p. 288. l. 71—78.). Callistus, however, was not condemned for his profession of Christianity, but for swindling, and for the violent disturbance of the Jewish worship.

This mistake has led M. Miller into another. Proceeding upon his erroneous interpretation of Callistus' martyrdom, he thinks himself entitled to

fix the year 222 (that of Callistus' death) as that of Fuscianus' *præfectura urbis*. Now this is a mistake, independently of its being based upon an erroneous supposition. Fuscianus' dignity of Prefect of Rome belongs to the reign of Commodus (180—192), as does the history of Callistus and Marcia. He was consul for the second time in 188, the ninth year of Commodus, and first of Victor, and was followed in the prefecture by *Ælius Pertinax*, at all events before 193; for in that year *Pertinax* became emperor. That office must therefore have been in Fuscianus' hands in the reign of Commodus, and probably soon after 188. *Cor sini's* conjecture, that he was prefect about 178*, is therefore only a few years too early, as our author's account proves.

I remain, my dear friend,

Yours ever faithfully,

BUNSEN.

* *De Præfect. Urbis*, Pis. 1763, p. 87.

FOURTH LETTER.

HIPPOLYTUS' OWN CONFESSION (THE TENTH BOOK).

Carlton Terrace, 25th June, 1851.

MY DEAREST FRIEND,

HIPPOLYTUS cannot have rejoiced more on arriving at the end of his account of all the heresies, absurdities, and impurities, which he had to go through in his arduous task, than I do at being able to-day to conduct you to the holy and wise man's own Confession of Faith.

In the tenth book (pp. 310—331.) he first recapitulates the contents of the preceding nine. And it may be worth noticing here, that he does not exactly follow the order of the heresies observed in the work itself. This may certainly be accidental; it may be a mere piece of negligence. But it may also be, that in this abridged account we have that rather superficial notice, which, he says in the introduction to the first book, he had written at an earlier time, about these heresies. However this be, there is one interesting fact resulting from the epitome with certainty. This abridged catalogue



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of the heresies occupies seventeen pages of our text, while the account itself fills 215. But some articles are scarcely shorter than the corresponding ones in that exposition; a want of proportion which points to the fact we have been led to by our examination of the preceding books, that in parts of our present text we have only an abstract of the "Refutation of all the Heresies."

What appears to me most remarkable in the short sketch of the philosophical systems, which precedes that of the heresies, is the moderation of Hippolytus' final judgment on the Greek philosophers. He does not assert that there was no truth in them: he contents himself with saying that their speculations on physical philosophy had not led to any satisfactory results (p. 314. 91.). His meaning is, that those systems prove the impossibility of founding theology and ethics upon physical speculations, and that these speculations had led the Greeks to forget God, the Creator, in nature, his creatures. This is what he states explicitly in the remarkable conclusion of the first book (p. 32. 92—98.).

With page 331. 3. ends the 132nd sheet of our precious manuscript; and one or two sheets are undoubtedly wanting, which must have been the beginning of a demonstration, very naturally brought forward in this place, to prove that the wisdom of the Greeks, the Chaldeans, and the Egyptians, could not boast of an antiquity like that of the people of God.

The two pages preserved to us of this demonstration contain little that can now be of interest. But, if I am not mistaken, they give us a new proof, should any be wanted, that Hippolytus wrote the work before us; and this is a point which it is my duty to clear up. Our fragment begins with Abraham's migration to Mesopotamia, and thence to Palestine, — a subject, the author says, "*which he had treated carefully in other works.*" Now I believe we have an ancient Latin translation of the very treatise or treatises to which he refers. In Fabricius' edition of Hippolytus' works (i. 49—89.), we find a Latin translation (belonging to the time of Charlemagne) of a "Chronicle" bearing the name of St. Hippolytus, edited first by Canisius, and then by Labbé. There is every reason to believe this to be the very "Chronicle" mentioned by Eusebius, which, he says, went down to the first year of Alexander Severus. This "Chronicle," towards the end, has a list of the Roman emperors, terminating with him. It does indeed give the duration of his reign; but this may have been added in the copies, as that of the reign under which such books were written was generally left open by the author, and afterwards filled up. In fact (as we shall see in the next letter), Hippolytus may have brought down his "Chronicle," before he died, to the last year of Alexander; for (as we shall see) he outlived him, at least some months. Unfortunately the manuscript which con-

tains that catalogue is incomplete: otherwise, as the title promises, we should also have a list of the Roman bishops carried down by our learned author to Callistus, or to his successor, Urbanus. This bishop governed the Roman Church under Alexander Severus; and his successor, Pontianus, was transported to Sardinia with Hippolytus in the first year of Maximin, soon after Alexander's death, and, probably falling a sacrifice to the pestilential air of the island, died there soon afterwards, under the same consuls.

Now, in this "Chronicle," we find an enumeration of the ancient divisions of nations and languages built upon the system that all the nations sprung from Noah were seventy-two.* Jewish ingenuity had got this number, probably before the age of Christ, out of the enumeration of the different nations in the tenth chapter of Genesis. Seventy or seventy-two was the number of the nations and of their Gods. Epiphanius adopts also the system of seventy-two nations. But the cotemporary of Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, who brought down his chronography to the fifth year of Heliogabalus, or to the year 221, that which precedes the first of the reign of Alexander Severus, did not adopt this system, according to the copious fragments and accounts which Eusebius, Syncellus,

* p. 50. l. l. sectio ii.: "Erant autem quæ confusæ sunt linguæ LXXII., et qui turrem ædificabant erant gentes LXXII., quæ etiam in linguis super faciem totius terræ divisæ sunt."

and others have given of his work. Now the same system, which we find established in Hippolytus' "Chronicle," is evidently alluded to in our fragment, in a passage miserably lacerated, but which may easily be restored by the help of the biblical record, and of sect. v. of the Latin text of the "Chronicle,"* to which book our author refers for the names of the seventy-two nations.† The identity of the systems in the two works is also proved by another point. Our author counts 215 years from Abraham to Jacob's migration into Egypt: the Latin "Chronicle" equally follows the Septuagint; for it counts 430 years for the time from Abraham to the Exodus.‡ Our author evidently placed the dispersion of the nations under Peleg, Heber's son, and, having arrived at Heber, mentioned the scheme of the seventy-two nations. This is the key to the restoration of the text, as I give it below, putting in brackets the words inserted by me.§ It is characteristic of our

* p. 52. l. 1., of the seventy-two, twenty-five belong to Shem's progeny. After these enumerations it is added again, "Omnes autem de tribus filiis Noe sunt LXXII."

† p. 331., ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οβ' (72) ἔθνη, ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐκτεθείμεθα ἐν ἐτέραις βίβλοις,

‡ p. 53. l. penult.

§ After he had spoken of Abraham, he says (p. 337.): Τούτου δὲ γίνεται [πατήρ] θάρρα· τούτου Ναχώρ, τούτου Σεροὺρ [τούτου Ραγαῦ, τούτου Φαλέκ, τούτου Ἑβερ] ὅθεν καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίους καλεῖσθαι [τοὺς Ἰουδαίους· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Φαλέκ ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν ἐθνῶν διασπορά] ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οβ' ἔθνη, etc. Cf. Jul. Africani Fragmentum ix. in Routh, Reliquiæ Sacr. ii. p. 244.

author, that, on this occasion, speaking of having enumerated those seventy-two nations, he adds, that he had done so, wishing to show to those who were desirous to learn, "the affection we bear to the Divine Revelation, and also the unquestionable knowledge which we have acquired with much labour respecting the truth." These are the words of the inventor of a system.

The end of all his demonstration is to prove (p. 332.) that the people of God are more ancient than the Chaldæans, the Egyptians, and the Hellenes. "Therefore," he says, "it being useless to go beyond Noah, I will give the division of those seventy-two races." Here we find that twenty-five sprang from Shem, and fifteen from Japhet, as is stated in the "Chronicle"; and we also learn the number (thirty-two) derived from Ham, which is left out in our present Latin text.

Hippolytus then, according to our present text, continues thus (p. 333. fol. 137. end):—

"Now having seized this doctrine" (the knowledge of things divine possessed by the fathers of the people of God), "disciples, the Hellenes, Egyptians, and Chaldæans, and the whole human race, what the divine nature or the divine being) . . ." Here our sheet ends, and, at present, our manuscript too. We have to thank M. Miller for having placed fol. 133. after fol. 137. This transposition undoubtedly restores the true order: for this sheet 133. gives us

the immediate continuation of the sentence with which fol. 137. terminates. Still I thought it important to know exactly where the new page begins in the MS. As the editor only marks the line, and not the word, with which the new leaf opens, I was left to guess which are the first words in fol. 133. But I have since learned through the kindness of Professor Gebser of Königsberg, whose attention I directed to this circumstance, as he was going to Paris, that fol. 137. (and at present the manuscript) terminates thus:

καὶ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων· τί τὸ θεῖον

Professor Gebser observes that after *θεῖον* there is now a full stop, but added by another hand.

The words *τί τὸ θεῖον* are evidently connected with the first words of sheet 133.: *καὶ ἡ τοῦτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία*. The author himself has joined these words in p. 338. 97.: *τίς ὁ ὄντως Θεὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία*. Only the verb is wanting, and this want is supplied by your excellent conjecture of *μάθετε* for *μαθηταί*. The period thus restored is the

* The whole passage, now printed all in one, is thus to be restored:—*Τοῦτου τοίνυν τοῦ λόγου κρατήσαντες μάθετε* (t. *μαθηταί*), *"Ἕλληνες, Αἰγύπτιοι, Χαλδαῖοι καὶ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων, τί τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἡ τοῦτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία, παρ, ἡμῶν τῶν φίλων τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ κομπολόγως τοῦτο ἡσκηκότων, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀληθείας γνώσει καὶ ἀσκήσει σωφροσύνης εἰς ἀπόδειξιν αὐτοῦ λόγους ποιουμένων*. The construction and sense of these words become thus very easy and clear: "Ye nations therefore come to us, and learn what God is, and his well ordered creation, from us, the friends of God."

fix the year 222 (that of Callistus' death) as that of Fuscianus' *præfectura urbis*. Now this is a mistake, independently of its being based upon an erroneous supposition. Fuscianus' dignity of Prefect of Rome belongs to the reign of Commodus (180—192), as does the history of Callistus and Marcia. He was consul for the second time in 188, the ninth year of Commodus, and first of Victor, and was followed in the prefecture by Ælius Pertinax, at all events before 193; for in that year Pertinax became emperor. That office must therefore have been in Fuscianus' hands in the reign of Commodus, and probably soon after 188. Corsini's conjecture, that he was prefect about 178*, is therefore only a few years too early, as our author's account proves.

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HIPPOLYTUS cannot have rejoiced more on arriving at the end of his account of all the heresies, absurdities, and impurities, which he had to go through in his arduous task, than I do at being able to-day to conduct you to the holy and wise man's own Confession of Faith.

In the tenth book (pp. 310—331.) he first recapitulates the contents of the preceding nine. And it may be worth noticing here, that he does not exactly follow the order of the heresies observed in the work itself. This may certainly be accidental; it may be a mere piece of negligence. But it may also be, that in this abridged account we have that rather superficial notice, which, he says in the introduction to the first book, he had written at an earlier time, about these heresies. However this be, there is one interesting fact resulting from the epitome with certainty. This abridged catalogue

of the heresies occupies seventeen pages of our text, while the account itself fills 215. But some articles are scarcely shorter than the corresponding ones in that exposition; a want of proportion which points to the fact we have been led to by our examination of the preceding books, that in parts of our present text we have only an abstract of the "Refutation of all the Heresies."

What appears to me most remarkable in the short sketch of the philosophical systems, which precedes that of the heresies, is the moderation of Hippolytus' final judgment on the Greek philosophers. He does not assert that there was no truth in them: he contents himself with saying that their speculations on physical philosophy had not led to any satisfactory results (p. 314. 91.). His meaning is, that those systems prove the impossibility of founding theology and ethics upon physical speculations, and that these speculations had led the Greeks to forget God, the Creator, in nature, his creatures. This is what he states explicitly in the remarkable conclusion of the first book (p. 32. 92—98.).

With page 331. 3. ends the 132nd sheet of our precious manuscript; and one or two sheets are undoubtedly wanting, which must have been the beginning of a demonstration, very naturally brought forward in this place, to prove that the wisdom of the Greeks, the Chaldeans, and the Egyptians, could not boast of an antiquity like that of the people of God.

The two pages preserved to us of this demonstration contain little that can now be of interest. But, if I am not mistaken, they give us a new proof, should any be wanted, that Hippolytus wrote the work before us; and this is a point which it is my duty to clear up. Our fragment begins with Abraham's migration to Mesopotamia, and thence to Palestine, — a subject, the author says, "*which he had treated carefully in other works.*" Now I believe we have an ancient Latin translation of the very treatise or treatises to which he refers. In Fabricius' edition of Hippolytus' works (i. 49—89.), we find a Latin translation (belonging to the time of Charlemagne) of a "Chronicle" bearing the name of St. Hippolytus, edited first by Canisius, and then by Labbé. There is every reason to believe this to be the very "Chronicle" mentioned by Eusebius, which, he says, went down to the first year of Alexander Severus. This "Chronicle," towards the end, has a list of the Roman emperors, terminating with him. It does indeed give the duration of his reign; but this may have been added in the copies, as that of the reign under which such books were written was generally left open by the author, and afterwards filled up. In fact (as we shall see in the next letter), Hippolytus may have brought down his "Chronicle," before he died, to the last year of Alexander; for (as we shall see) he outlived him, at least some months. Unfortunately the manuscript which con-

tains that catalogue is incomplete: otherwise, as the title promises, we should also have a list of the Roman bishops carried down by our learned author to Callistus, or to his successor, Urbanus. This bishop governed the Roman Church under Alexander Severus; and his successor, Pontianus, was transported to Sardinia with Hippolytus in the first year of Maximin, soon after Alexander's death, and, probably falling a sacrifice to the pestilential air of the island, died there soon afterwards, under the same consuls.

Now, in this "Chronicle," we find an enumeration of the ancient divisions of nations and languages built upon the system that all the nations sprung from Noah were seventy-two.* Jewish ingenuity had got this number, probably before the age of Christ, out of the enumeration of the different nations in the tenth chapter of Genesis. Seventy or seventy-two was the number of the nations and of their Gods. Epiphanius adopts also the system of seventy-two nations. But the cotemporary of Hippolytus, Julius Africanus, who brought down his chronography to the fifth year of Heliogabalus, or to the year 221, that which precedes the first of the reign of Alexander Severus, did not adopt this system, according to the copious fragments and accounts which Eusebius, Syncellus,

* p. 50. l. 1. sectio ii.: "Erant autem quæ confusæ sunt linguæ LXXII., et qui turrem ædificabant erant gentes LXXII., quæ etiam in linguis super faciem totius terræ divisæ sunt."

and others have given of his work. Now the same system, which we find established in Hippolytus' "Chronicle," is evidently alluded to in our fragment, in a passage miserably lacerated, but which may easily be restored by the help of the biblical record, and of sect. v. of the Latin text of the "Chronicle,"* to which book our author refers for the names of the seventy-two nations.† The identity of the systems in the two works is also proved by another point. Our author counts 215 years from Abraham to Jacob's migration into Egypt: the Latin "Chronicle" equally follows the Septuagint; for it counts 430 years for the time from Abraham to the Exodus.‡ Our author evidently placed the dispersion of the nations under Peleg, Heber's son, and, having arrived at Heber, mentioned the scheme of the seventy-two nations. This is the key to the restoration of the text, as I give it below, putting in brackets the words inserted by me.§ It is characteristic of our

* p. 52. l. 1., of the seventy-two, twenty-five belong to Shem's progeny. After these enumerations it is added again, "Omnes autem de tribus filiis Noe sunt LXXII."

† p. 331., ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οβ' (72) ἔθνη, ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ἐκτεθείμεθα ἐν ἐτίραις βίβλοις,

‡ p. 53. l. penult.

§ After he had spoken of Abraham, he says (p. 337.): Τούτου δὲ γίνεται [πατήρ] Θάβρα· τούτου Ναχώρ, τούτου Σερούρ [τούτου 'Ραγαῦ, τούτου Φαλέκ, τούτου 'Εβερ] ὅθεν καὶ τὸ 'Εβραῖους καλεῖσθαι [τοὺς 'Ιουδαίους· ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Φαλέκ ἐγένετο ἡ τῶν ἔθνων διασπορά] ἦσαν δὲ οὗτοι οβ' ἔθνη, etc. Cf. Jul. Africani Fragmentum ix. in Routh, Reliquiæ Sacr. ii. p. 244.

author, that, on this occasion, speaking of having enumerated those seventy-two nations, he adds, that he had done so, wishing to show to those who were desirous to learn, "the affection we bear to the Divine Revelation, and also the unquestionable knowledge which we have acquired with much labour respecting the truth." These are the words of the inventor of a system.

The end of all his demonstration is to prove (p. 332.) that the people of God are more ancient than the Chaldæans, the Egyptians, and the Hellenes. "Therefore," he says, "it being useless to go beyond Noah, I will give the division of those seventy-two races." Here we find that twenty-five sprang from Shem, and fifteen from Japhet, as is stated in the "Chronicle"; and we also learn the number (thirty-two) derived from Ham, which is left out in our present Latin text.

Hippolytus then, according to our present text, continues thus (p. 333. fol. 137. end):—

"Now having seized this doctrine" (the knowledge of things divine possessed by the fathers of the people of God), "disciples, the Hellenes, Egyptians, and Chaldæans, and the whole human race, what the divine nature or the divine being) . . ." Here our sheet ends, and, at present, our manuscript too. We have to thank M. Miller for having placed fol. 133. after fol. 137. This transposition undoubtedly restores the true order: for this sheet 133. gives us

the immediate continuation of the sentence with which fol. 137. terminates. Still I thought it important to know exactly where the new page begins in the MS. As the editor only marks the line, and not the word, with which the new leaf opens, I was left to guess which are the first words in fol. 133. But I have since learned through the kindness of Professor Gebser of Königsberg, whose attention I directed to this circumstance, as he was going to Paris, that fol. 137. (and at present the manuscript) terminates thus:

καὶ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων· τί τὸ θεῖον

Professor Gebser observes that after *θεῖον* there is now a full stop, but added by another hand.

The words *τί τὸ θεῖον* are evidently connected with the first words of sheet 133.: *καὶ ἡ τοῦτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία*. The author himself has joined these words in p. 338. 97.: *τίς ὁ ὄντως Θεὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία*. Only the verb is wanting, and this want is supplied by your excellent conjecture of *μάθετε* for *μαθηταί*. The period thus restored is the

* The whole passage, now printed all in one, is thus to be restored:—*Τοῦτου τοίνυν τοῦ λόγου κρατήσαντες μάθετε* (t. *μαθηταί*), *Ἕλληνες, Αἰγύπτιοι, Χαλδαῖοι καὶ πᾶν γένος ἀνθρώπων, τί τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἡ τοῦτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία, παρ, ἡμῶν τῶν φίλων τοῦ Θεοῦ, καὶ μὴ κομπολόγως τοῦτο ἡσκηκότων, ἀλλ' ἡ ἀληθείας γνώσει καὶ ἀσκήσει σωφροσύνης εἰς ἀπόδειξιν αὐτοῦ λόγους ποιουμένων*. The construction and sense of these words become thus very easy and clear: "Ye nations therefore come to us, and learn what God is, and his well ordered creation, from us, the friends of God."

introduction to the *declaration of the truth*, which was the principal object of the tenth book, as he says at the beginning of it.

This most important conclusion of the work consists of three distinct parts :—

First, the doctrine of the One God, the eternal cause of all things.

Secondly, the doctrine of the Logos, begotten by the One all-pervading God, who, being penetrated with the will of the Father that the world should exist, made all things ; and who was lastly sent to speak to man, not through the prophets, but himself, and to appeal to man as endowed with a free will, the abuse of which alone had produced evil.

Thirdly, the conclusion of the whole in an address to all nations by the author, speaking as a disciple and minister of the Logos, and encouraging his brethren to have faith in their high destiny and divine nature. (The end is wanting.)

I.

Hippolytus' Declaration on the One Eternal God.
(p. 334.)

"The One God, the first and the only One, the Maker and Lord of all, had nothing coeval with him, no infinite chaos, no measureless water or solid earth, no thick air, or hot fire, or spirit (*πνεῦμα*), nor the blue form of the great heaven. But He

was One, alone by Himself, who, willing it, called into being what had no being before (*ἐποίησε τὰ ὄντα οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον*), except when He willed to call it into being, having full knowledge of what was to be; for He has foreknowledge also. And He created first different elements of the things which were to be, fire and air, water and earth; out of which different elements he made his own creation, some being of one substance (*μονοούσια*), some compounded of two, some of three, some of four. And those which were of one are immortal; for they do not admit of dissolution. For what is simply one, cannot be dissolved; but that which consists of two or three or four elements is dissoluble, and therefore is also called mortal. For what is called death is the dissolution of that which has been compounded."

For the ulterior discussion of this subject, the author refers to a special work of his, "On the Substance of the Universe" (*περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας*); and this again is a point of much interest for our inquiry, and, if I am not mistaken, leads us to a curious discovery.

You are aware that in a manuscript published by Le Moyne, and then inserted in Fabricius' edition of Hippolytus (i. 220—222.), there is the end of a homily or treatise addressed to the Hellenes, and inscribed thus: "St. Hippolytus, from his Address to

the Hellenes, which bears the title (Address) to Plato, about the Cause of the Universe."* This title is so like that of a treatise mentioned on the statue of Hippolytus in the Vatican, "To the Hellenes and to Plato," or also "About the Universe,"† that scarcely a doubt could remain of the identity, even if Photius did not expressly name all the three titles mentioned here as given to one and the same book. For he says (c. 48.), "The book 'On the Universe,' which in other copies is inscribed, 'On the Cause of the Universe,' in others 'On the Substance of the Universe.'"‡

What is still more remarkable, in his account of the book he gives us the contents of the very chapter to which Hippolytus here refers. "The book consists (he says) of two sections. The author shows in them that Plato contradicts himself; and he proves that Alcinous (the celebrated Platonic writer, who lived, probably, in the beginning of the second century) had spoken irrationally and falsely about the Soul, and Matter, and the Resurrection. He then brings in his own opinions on these topics, and *shows that the people of the Jews is much more ancient than that of the Hellenes.* According to his opinion, *man*

* Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἱππολύτου ἐκ τοῦ πρὸς Ἑλλήνας λόγου, τοῦ ἐπιγεγραμμένου κατὰ Πλάτωνα (read πρὸς Πλ.) περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός αἰτίας.

† Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἢ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός.

‡ Περὶ τοῦ παντός, ὃ ἐν ἄλλοις ἀνέγνων ἐπιγραφόμενον Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός αἰτίας, ἐν ἄλλοις δὲ Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντός οὐσίας.

consists of fire and earth and water, and besides, of the *spirit* (πνεῦμα), which he also calls soul (ψυχή). As to the spirit, these are his own words : —

“Taking of this (the spirit) the principal part, He (God) formed it together with the body, and prepared for it a passage through every limb and joint. Now this spirit, plastically connected with the body, and all-pervading, is fashioned (τετύπωται) in the same shape (εἶδει) as the visible body; but its essence is rather cold in comparison with the three of which the body consists.”

You here see the exact and literal doctrine of the four elements, of which the spirit is one, carried out speculatively, in the form of a Christian physical philosophy. Besides, you see that the theory of the higher antiquity of Jewish wisdom had been treated here in the same manner as in the fragment preceding the Declaration of Faith in our work. I dare say it was this that made some wiseacre of the Byzantine age ascribe the book to Josephus, under which name the patriarch himself read it without any doubts on his mind the first time, as he tells us.

Hear what he has further to say on this book :—
“After having gone through these physiological discussions, not (οὐκ ἀναξίως) unworthily of the Jewish physiology and of his learning, the author treats also summarily of cosmogony. As to Christ, our true God, he speaks theologically, very much as we do; nay, he pronounces the very name of *Christ*,

and describes without fault his unspeakable generation from the Father." Poor Hippolytus! A patriarch of New Rome, in the ninth century, the most learned man of his age, has become so hardened in his formularies, that he takes a work of yours for that of a Jew, who, he seems to think, did honour to the philosophy of his nation; and then he wonders how, with all that, you could speak of Christ almost as if you were a Christian! What you, a learned and pious doctor and bishop of the Catholic Church,—you, the worthy disciple of Irenæus, whose master had seen St. John the apostle,—said at the end of the second and beginning of the third century, is, in its best parts, deemed by the Byzantine just Christian enough for a clever Jew who had heard of Christ! Can any man pronounce a severer judgment upon the conventional superstructure raised by the ages intervening between Hippolytus and Photius?

Still, being an honest, plodding man, Photius adds, first, that some had their doubts about the authorship of Josephus; and he confesses there might be something in this, although the man wrote well enough for Josephus. He then says: "I find that in the marginal notes the author is called Caius, the Roman presbyter, who wrote a book against Proclus the Montanist." All he can tell us positively is this: "The author of the book, called 'The Labyrinth,' says at the end of it, that he is also the

author of the book 'On the Substance of the Universe.'"

Hence, if we have Hippolytus' evidence for his having written this last book, we know, through Photius' unwilling, or at least involuntary, witness, that he is also the author of the "Labyrinth," or the "Little Labyrinth," of which we have some fragments preserved by Eusebius, directed against Theodotus and his followers among the Noetians, and professing to be written under Zephyrinus "in our own time." Whoever reads those fragments *, and compares them with our book and the fragments just mentioned, will have no doubt respecting the authorship : they are by one and the same man, as Photius learned from the author himself. The author of the book "On the Universe" (Caius, according to Photius' opinion) "was elected a bishop of the Gentiles." These words, absurd as they may appear, will prove to be a historical allusion to the position which Hippolytus occupied in the Church, and in particular at Portus. They also receive a striking explanation from what our author, in the concluding section of his Declaration, says of himself, as we shall see presently.

Having gained this fixed point, I have no hesitation in saying that Le Moyne's much discussed fragment of the work "On the Universe" is genuine. In order to understand it, we must consider that it is the end,

* Routh, *Reliquiæ Sacr.* ii. p. 129. sqq.

either of the whole, or of the first of the two books of which that treatise, as we have seen, consisted. Having treated of cosmogony and of the Logos, the author came to the eschatological part, and opposed to Plato's myth in the *Gorgias* something of the same nature, only that it is based upon Judaic and Christian apocalyptic fictions, of which that under Peter's name was very popular at Rome. I have no doubt that Hippolytus did not give his description of Hades as a revelation, but as a Christian picture.

To prove the identity of the authorship I will show, in a note to the passage on the eternal punishment of the bodies of the wicked, that a sentence, utterly unintelligible as the text stands now, can easily be restored from the corresponding passage in that treatise. With an experienced critic, this alone settles the question.

II.

The second part of Hippolytus' Confession of Faith : — The Doctrine of the Logos.

<p>Now this sole one and universal God, first by his cogitation begets the Word (Logos), not the word in the sense of speech, but as the indwelling reason of the universe. Him alone of all beings he begat:</p>	<p>Οὗτος οὖν μόνος καὶ κατὰ πάντων Θεός, Λόγον πρῶτον ἐννοηθεὶς ἀπογεννᾷ οὐ λόγον ὡς φωνήν ἀλλ' ἐνδιάθετον τοῦ παντὸς λογισμόν. Τοῦτον μόνον ἐξ ὄντων ἐγέννα· τὸ</p>
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for that which was was the Father himself: the being born of whom was the cause of all beings. The Word was in him, bearing the will of him who had begotten him, being not unacquainted with the thoughts of the Father. For when he came forth from him who begat him, being his first-begotten speech, he had in himself the ideas conceived by the Father. When, therefore, the Father commanded that the world should be, the Logos accomplished it in detail, pleasing God. Now what was to multiply by generation, he made male and female: but that which was to serve and minister, he made either male, not wanting the female, or neither male nor female. For the first elements of these, which sprang from that which was not, fire and spirit, water and earth, are neither male nor female; nor could male and female come out of any of them, except as far as the commanding

γὰρ ὃν, αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἦν, ἐξ οὗ τὸ γεννηθῆναι αἷτιον τοῖς γινομένοις. Λόγος ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ φέρων τὸ θέλειν τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, οὐκ ἄπειρος τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐννοίας· ἡμα γὰρ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ γεννήσαντος προελθεῖν, πρωτότοκος τούτου γενόμενος φωνή (τ. φωνήν), ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ ἐννοηθείσας ιδέας, ὅθεν κελεύοντος πατρὸς γίνεσθαι κόσμον τὸ κατὰ ἐν Λόγος ἀπετελεῖτο ἀρέσκων Θεῷ. Καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐπὶ γενέσει πληθύνοντα ἄρσена καὶ θήλεα εἰργάζετο· ὅσα δὲ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν καὶ λειτουργίαν, ἢ ἄρσена θηλειῶν (τ. ἄρσена ἢ θηλειῶν) μὴ προσδεόμενα, ἢ οὔτε ἄρσена οὔτε θήλεα. Καὶ γὰρ αἱ τούτων πρῶται οὐσίαι ἐξ οὐκ ὄντων γενόμεναι, πῦρ καὶ πνεῦμα, ὕδωρ καὶ γῆ, οὔτε ἄρσена οὔτε θήλεα ὑπάρχει· [οὐτ' ἐξ] ἐκάστης τούτων δύναται (τ. ὑπάρχειν ἐκάστη τούτων δύνται) προελθεῖν ἄρσена καὶ θήλεα, πλὴν εἰ βούλοιοτο ὁ κελευὼν Θεὸς ἵνα

God willed that the Logos should accomplish it. I acknowledge that the angels are of fire; and they, I say, have no females. In like manner the sun and moon and stars, I conceive, are of fire and spirit, and are neither male nor female; but from water have come swimming and flying animals, male and female: for so God ordered it, willing that the moist element should be generative. In like manner out of the earth came creeping things and beasts, and males and females of all sorts of animals: for this the nature of created things admitted of. For whatever He willed, God made. These things He made by the Logos; nor could they be otherwise than as they were made. But when He had made them as He willed, He then marked them by giving them names. After these he created the lord of the whole, making him a compound of all the elements. He did not intend to make him a god, and fail

Λόγος ὑπουργῇ. Ἐκ πυρὸς εἶναι ἀγγέλους ὁμολογῶ, καὶ οὐ τούτοις παρεῖναι θηλείας λέγω. "Ἡλιον δὲ καὶ σελήνην καὶ ἀστέρας ὁμοίως ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ πνεύματος, καὶ οὔτε ἄρσενος οὔτε θηλείας γενόμενα, ἐξ ὕδατος δὲ ζῶα νηκτὰ εἶναι θέλω (t. θέλων) καὶ πτηνὰ ἄρσενα καὶ θήλεα· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θελήσας θεὸς γόνιμον εἶναι τὴν ὑγρὰν οὐσίαν. Ὅμοίως ἐκ γῆς ἔρπετὰ καὶ θηρία καὶ παντοδαπῶν ζῴων ἄρσενα καὶ θήλεα· οὕτως γὰρ ἐνεδέχετο ἡ τῶν γεγονότων φύσις. "Ὅσα γὰρ ἠθέλησεν, ἐποίει ὁ θεός. Ταῦτα λόγῳ ἐδημιούργει, ἐτέρως γενέσθαι μὴ δυνάμενα, ἢ ὡς ἐγένετο." Ὅτε δὲ (t. adds ἦ) ὡς ἠθέλησε καὶ ἐποίησεν ὀνόματι καλέσας ἐσήμηνεν. Ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸν πάντων ἄρχοντα δημιουργῶν (t. ἄρχοντα δημιουργόν) ἐκ πασῶν συνθέτων οὐσιῶν ἐσκεύασεν· οὐ θεὸν θέλων ποιεῖν ἔσφηλεν,

to do so, or an angel (be not misled!), but a man. If He had willed to make thee a god, He could have done so; for thou hast the image of the Logos: but willing to make thee a man, a man He made thee. But if thou wouldst become a god, be obedient to Him who made thee, and transgress not now, in order that, having been found faithful in small things, thou mayst be trusted with great things.

The Word of Him is alone of Him: wherefore he is God, being the substance of God. But the world is of nothing; therefore not God: it is also subject to dissolution, when He willeth who created it. But God the creator did not make evil. He made nothing which was not beautiful and good: for the Maker is good. But the man who was made was a freewilled creature, not possessing a ruling understanding, not governing all things by thought and authority and power, but servile and having all sorts of

οὐδὲ ἄγγελον (μὴ πλανῶ), ἀλλ' ἄνθρωπον. Εἰ γὰρ θεόν σε ἠθέλησε ποιῆσαι, ἐδύνατο· ἔχεις τοῦ Λόγου τὸ παράδειγμα· ἄνθρωπον θέλων, ἄνθρωπόν σε ἐποίησεν· εἰ δὲ θέλεις καὶ θεὸς γενέσθαι, ὑπάκουε τῷ πεποιηκότι, καὶ μὴ ἀντίβαινε νῦν, ἵνα ἐπὶ τῷ μικρῷ πιστὸς εὕρεθῇς, καὶ τὸ μέγα πιστευθῇναι δυναθῇς.

Τούτου ὁ Λόγος μόνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ· διὸ καὶ θεός, οὐσία ὑπάρχων Θεοῦ. Ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἐξ οὐδένος· διὸ οὐ θεός. οὗτος ἐπιδέχεται καὶ λύσιν ὅτε βούλεται ὁ κτίσας. Ὁ δὲ κτίσας θεὸς κακὸν οὐκ ἐποίει· οὐδὲν ἐποίει [οὐ] καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν· ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὁ ποιῶν (τ. ἐποίει οὐδὲ ποιεῖ καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ἀγαθὸς γὰρ ὁ ποιῶν). Ὁ δὲ γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος ζῶν αὐτεξούσιον ἦν, οὐκ ἄρχοντα νοῦν ἔχον (τ. οὐκ ἄρχον, οὐ νοῦν ἔχον), οὐκ ἐπινοία καὶ ἐξουσία καὶ δυνάμει πάντων κρατοῦν, ἀλλὰ δούλον, καὶ πάντα ἔχον

contraries in him. He, from being freewilled, generates evil, which becomes so by accident, being nothing if thou dost it not: for it is called evil from being willed and thought to be so; not being such from the beginning, but an afterbirth. Man being thus freewilled, a law was laid down by God; not without need. For if man had not the power to will and not to will, why should a law have been established? For a law will not be laid down for an irrational being, but a bridle and a whip; but for man, a command and a penalty, to do, or for not doing, what is ordered. For him law was established by just men of yore. In times nearer to us, a law was laid down full of gravity and justice, by the forementioned Moses, a devout and Godloving man. But all these things are overruled by the Word of God, the only-begotten child of the Father, the light-bringing voice anterior to the morning star. After-

τὰ ἐναντία· ὃς τῷ αὐτεξούσιον ὑπάρχειν, τὸ κακὸν ἐπιγεννᾷ, ἐκ συμβεβηκότος ἀποτελούμενον [ὄν] μὲν οὐδὲν (τ. ἀποτελούμενον μὲν οὐδὲν) εἰὰν μὴ ποιῇς· ἐν γὰρ τῷ θέλειν καὶ νομίζειν τι κακὸν τὸ κακὸν ὀνομάζεται, οὐκ ὄν ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ἀλλ' ἐπιγινόμενον. Οὗ αὐτεξουσίου ὄντος, νόμος ὑπὸ Θεοῦ ὠρίζετο, οὐ μάτην· εἰ (τ. οὐ) γὰρ μὴ εἶχεν ὁ ἀνθρωπος τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ μὴ θέλειν, τί καὶ νόμος ὠρίζετο (τ. θέλειν τί καὶ νόμος ὠρίζετο); Ὁ νόμος γὰρ ἀλόγῳ ζῳῳ οὐχ ὀρισθήσεται, ἀλλὰ χαλινὸς καὶ μάστιξ, ἀνθρώπῳ δὲ ἐντολὴ καὶ πρόστιμον τοῦ ποιεῖν τὸ προστεταγμένον καὶ μὴ ποιεῖν· τούτῳ νόμος ὠρίσθη διὰ δικαίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπάνωθεν. "Εγχιον ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦ προειρημένου Μωϋσέως, ἀνδρὸς εὐλαβοῦς καὶ θεοφιλοῦς, νόμος ὠρίζετο πλήρης σεμνότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης. Τὰ δὲ πάντα διοικεῖ ὁ Λόγος ὁ Θεοῦ, ὁ πρωτόγονος πατὴρ παῖς, ἡ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου φωσφόρος φῶνῃ.

wards there were just men, friends of God; these were called Prophets, because they foretold the future. These had not the word (understanding) of one time only; but the voices of the events foretold through all ages showed themselves to them intelligibly. They foretold the future, not then alone when they gave answer to those who were present, but through all ages: because, in speaking of things past, they reminded humanity of them; in explaining the present, they persuaded men not to be careless; by foretelling the future, they rendered every one alarmed, seeing things predicted long beforehand, and looking forward to the future.

Such, O ye men, is our faith, the faith of men who are not persuaded by vain sayings, who are not carried away by the impulses of our own hearts, nor seduced by the persuasiveness of eloquent speeches, but who are not disobedient to words spoken by divine power.

Ἐπειτα (τ. φώνη· ἔπειτα) δίκαιοι ἄνδρες γεγένηται φίλοι Θεοῦ· οὗτοι προφῆται κέκληνται διὰ τὸ προφαίνειν τὰ μέλλοντα. Οἷς οὐχ ἑνὸς καιροῦ λόγος ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ διὰ πασῶν γενεῶν αἱ τῶν προλεγόμενων φωναὶ εὐαπόδεικτοι παρίσταντο· οὐκ ἐκεῖ μόνον ἡνίκα τοῖς παροῦσιν ἀπεκρίναντο, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ πασῶν γενεῶν τὰ ἐσόμενα προεφήναντο, ὅτι μὲν τὰ παρωχημένα λέγοντες, ὑπεμύνησκον τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα· τὰ δὲ ἐνεστώτι δεικνύντες, μὴ ῥαθυμεῖν ἔπειθον· τὰ δὲ μέλλοντα προλέγοντες, τὸν κατὰ ἓνα ἡμῶν ὀρῶντας πρὸ πολλοῦ προειρημένα ἐμφόβους καθίστων, προσδοκῶντας καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα.

Τοιαύτη ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς πίστις, ᾧ πάντες ἄνθρωποι, οὐ κενοῖς ῥήμασι πειθομένων, οὐδὲ σχεδιάσμασι καρδίας συναρπαζομένων, οὐδὲ πιθανότητι εὐεπείας λόγων θελγομένων, ἀλλὰ δυνάμει θείᾳ λόγοις λελαλημένοις οὐκ ἀπειθούντων.

These things God gave in charge to the Word. And the Word spake and uttered them, bringing man back by these very words from disobedience, not enslaving him through the force of necessity, but calling him to liberty of his own free accord. This Word the Father sent in after times, no longer to speak through a prophet: not wishing that he should be guessed at from obscure announcements, but should be made manifest to sight. Him, I say, He sent, that the world, seeing him, might revere him, not commanding them in the person of prophets, nor frightening the soul by an angel, but himself present and speaking to them. Him we have known to have taken his body from a virgin, and to have put on the old man through a new formation, having past in his life through every age, that he might become a law for every age, and might by his presence exhibit his own humanity as an aim for all men; and

Καὶ ταῦτα Θεὸς ἐκέλευε Λόγῳ· Ὁ δὲ Λόγος ἐφθέγγετο δι' αὐτῶν τῶν λόγων (τ. λέγων δι' αὐτῶν) ἐπιστρέφων τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἐκ παρακοῆς, οὐ βία ἀνάγκης δουλαγωγῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ, ἐκουσίῳ προαιρέσει καλῶν. Τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἐν ὑστέροις ἀπέστειλεν ὁ πατὴρ οὐκέτι διὰ προφήτου λαλεῖν, οὐ σκοτεινῶς κηρυσσόμενον ὑπονοεῖσθαι θέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτοφεί φανερωθῆναι· τοῦτον, λέγω, [ἀπέστειλεν] ἵνα (τ. τοῦτον λέγων, ἵνα) κόσμος ὁρῶν δυσωπηθῇ οὐκ ἐντελλόμενον διὰ προσώπου προφητῶν, οὐδὲ δι' ἀγγέλου φοβοῦντα ψυχὴν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν παρόντα τὸν λελαληκότα. Τοῦτον ἔγνωμεν ἐκ παρθένου σῶμα ἀνειληφότα καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον διὰ καινῆς πλάσεως πεφορηκότα, ἐν βίῳ διὰ πάσης ἡλικίας ἐληλυθότα, ἵνα πάση ἡλικίᾳ αὐτὸς νόμος γενηθῇ, καὶ σκοπὸν τὸν ἴδιον ἄνθρωπον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιδείξῃ

might prove by the same, that God has made nothing evil; and that man is free-willed, having the power both of willing and not willing, being able to do either. Him we know to have been a man of our own composition. For if he had not been of the same nature, in vain would he ordain that we are to imitate our master. For if that man were of another substance, how can he order me, who am born weak, to do like him? and how is he good and righteous? But that he might not be deemed other than we, he bore toil, and vouchsafed to hunger, and did not refuse to thirst, and rested in sleep, and did not resist suffering, and became obedient to death, and manifested his resurrection, offering up his own humanity in all this, as the firstfruits, that thou, when thou art suffering, mayst not despair, but, acknowledging thyself a man, mayst thyself expect what the Father granted to him.

παρῶν, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλέγξῃ ὅτι μηδὲν ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς πονηρὸν, καὶ ὡς αὐτεξούσιος ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἔχων τὸ θέλειν καὶ τὸ μὴ θέλειν, δυνατὸς ὢν ἐν ἀμφοτέροις· τοῦτον (τ. οὗ τόν) ἄνθρωπον ἴσμεν (τ. εἰς μὲν) τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς φυράματος γε- γονέναι. Εἰ γὰρ μὴ ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ὑπῆρξε, μάτην νομο- θετεῖ μιμεῖσθαι τὸν διδάσκα- λον. Εἰ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ ἄνθρω- πος ἐτέρας ἐτύγχανεν οὐσίας, τί τὰ ὅμοια κελεύει ἐμοὶ τῷ ἀσθενεῖ πεφυκῶτι, καὶ πῶς οὗτος ἀγαθὸς καὶ δίκαιος; ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἕτερος παρ' ἡμᾶς νο- μισθῇ, καὶ κάματον ὑπέμεινε, καὶ πεινῇν ἠθέλησε, καὶ διψῇν οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, καὶ ὕπνῳ ἡρέ- μησε, καὶ πάθει οὐκ ἀντείπε, καὶ θανάτῳ ὑπήκουσε, καὶ ἀνά- στασιν ἐφάνέρωσεν, ἀπαρξά- μενος ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις τὸν ἴδιον ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα σὺ πά- σχων μὴ ἀθυμῇς, ἀλλ' ἄνθρω- πον σεαυτὸν ὁμολογῶν, προσ- δοκᾷς (τ. προσδοκῶν) καὶ σὺ δ' αὖτ' ἐκείνῳ πατὴρ παρέσχεν (τ. τού- τῳ παρέσχες).

This then is, as it were, the second article of our author's creed, or rather his philosophical commentary on the prologue of the Gospel of St. John. I shall have to prove, with respect to this part, that it agrees with the system of Hippolytus, as we find it expressed in his other genuine writings; and, over and above this, I shall prove that it is entirely different from the system of him to whom the marginal note in our manuscript attributes the work now recovered. But I can do neither the one nor the other satisfactorily, without a collateral examination of Hippolytus' other works; and this will be the object of my next and concluding letter.

I must, therefore, confine myself here to a short analysis of the contents, as a preparatory step to the further inquiry.

This passage contains the author's theory on the Logos; which is interrupted in the middle by that on the origin of evil. The insertion of this second discussion is not very skilful: still the two points are intimately connected with each other, and with the whole theory of the creation, as they were also regarded in the various Gnostic systems. If God created evil, how can we combine this with the doctrine of the eternal divine Word, as being the full expression of God's nature and will? How can we avoid placing evil either in the Father, or in the Logos? Unquestionably (thinks our author) it must not be placed in either. His way to escape from the difficulty is

this:—Evil exists only by accident, not originally. It exists, because man, being endowed with reason and with free will, necessarily had the power of doing what was forbidden; and evil came from his abuse of this liberty of action, which however was necessary for his being God's representative on earth, and destined to be elevated to the divine nature.

Having thus cleared the field for the eternal action of the Logos, he goes on defining it more accurately, evidently following closely the prologue. The Logos is to our author, as to the fathers of the second century, God's eternal consciousness of himself, or the objectiveness of his substance, which is reason and truth. He is therefore the Logos, in the twofold sense of the Greek word; as speech ($\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma = \phi\omega\nu\eta\acute{\iota}$), that is to say, the objective manifestation of God, and as reason ($\lambda\acute{o}\gamma\omicron\varsigma = \lambda\omicron\gamma\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$), or God's essential consciousness. The Father, by the act of self-consciousness, generates the Logos; and, strictly speaking, the Logos, as the inward Word of God, inspires all the holy men who are called to become the teachers of mankind, and especially, though not exclusively, inspired Moses and the prophets.

Here it is clear how strongly our author is intent upon inculcating three very important truths. First, that the working of the Spirit of God,—for that, according to our author's more simple theory, is the working of the Logos before the Incarnation,—is not limited to the holy men of the Old Testament.

He claims (as we have seen) for them the priority, but not the exclusive possession, of the Divine Spirit; although he does not expressly say, what Origen says most positively, that those persons must be of a very rude mind (*ἀγροῖκοι*) who would deny that the Spirit of God was working in the virtuous and holy men of the Gentiles, such as Socrates. Such being our author's opinion, it is also evident (and this is the second point), that the divine validity of the Law is not founded on the external authority which imposed it, and on the curses attached to its non-performance, but on its inward correspondence with the will of God, and therefore with man's nature, reason. "Man," says our author, "is a rational being, and can only be brought to obedience by his free consent, founded upon conviction." Hippolytus, therefore, is not only a Rationalist, but, what is much stronger, he makes God himself the first Rationalist, as infusing his divine reason into the Logos, and through him into man. The obligation to obey the written Law, being thus founded upon its conformity to reason (divine and human, which are taken by our author to be one in essence), must therefore clearly cease, when something better and more perfect appears. Thus by this second proposition, no less than by the first, he prepares the way for his doctrine of the Incarnation.

The third proposition is no less remarkable; it is this:—The prophets are indeed called prophets from

foretelling future events ; and he enlarges upon this point more than upon the collateral endowments of the prophetic mind, because it had been denied by the Gnostics. But this is by no means the exclusive vocation of the prophets. God's eternal reason spoke through them quite as much in what they pronounced on the past, and on the events they themselves lived to see. He characterises their oracles on things past by saying, that by them they reminded mankind of their humanity (*ὑπεμύνησκον τὴν ἀνθρωπότητα*). This cannot mean that they refreshed their chronological memory : the sense must be, that they reminded the human race of certain special facts as integral parts of the divine plan of the universal history of mankind, this history being the divine development and realization in time of what was divinely beheld before all time in the Word. It is this prophetic treatment of the past, that elevates Joel, the oldest, and Jeremiah the latest, of the prophets of the independent Jewish state, above the kindred characters in the Hellenic world, such as Homer was compared with Joel, and Demosthenes compared with Jeremiah, more than any prediction of external future events can ever do. Indeed, their predictions treat outward events only as hieroglyphics of events in the kingdom of truth. It is the low, materialist, unbelieving, Jewish view, patched up in the seventeenth century by scholastics who were neither scholars nor independent philosophers, and

held sacred by men destitute and afraid of the light and liberty of evangelical truth, — it is only this degraded and impotent view, along with great ignorance and an irrational system of interpretation, that could lose sight of the divine character of the prophets in their elevated, comforting, and faithful survey of the past or future destinies of mankind, as being one family in God, realizing here upon earth, individually and nationally, the decrees of his eternal wisdom and love. In short our author says in his language, what Frederic Schlegel said, when he designated the true historian as a prophet with his face turned backward.

They were also inspired, says our author, when they spoke of the persons and events of their own time, "exhorting men not to abandon themselves to negligence and levity (*μὴ ῥαθυμῆιν*).” It does not require much of a philosophical mind to perceive, that to recognise the men and events of one's time as what they really are, and what they signify, and thus to put the seal of history upon them (what the mystics call the *signatura*), is as much an evidence of the knowledge of the future as any prediction, and as much a proof of an inspired insight into the past as any prophetic interpretation of the figures of men and events of bygone times. It follows, from this our author's view, that even those predictions were not an evidence, much less the highest, of inspired knowledge, so far as they simply foretold external facts. Hippolytus, like all

ancient writers, believed undoubtedly that such foretelling power had also been displayed by other persons, and even by false prophets, but that the true prophets foresaw, in an event of which they spoke as coming, an integral part of the development of the kingdom of truth, justice, and blessedness, which is to be manifested among mankind, and by men, and therefore upon this earth.

Having thus explained his general view of the law and of the prophets, he passes to the second portion of his doctrine of the Logos,—his being embodied in the person of Jesus of Nazareth, the true and real man. It seems to me clear, that, in this section as well as in the first, our author intends to speak as popularly as he can, and to avoid as much as possible bringing forward his own speculative system. The fathers of that age evidently considered their speculations in the main as merely apologetic. They refuted, by reference to Scripture and constant tradition, the objections of unbelievers and the errors of the heretical philosophers. They deemed a doctrine heretical, either when it directly denied some facts related by the sacred records, or when it destroyed the meaning or authority of Scripture, and led to consequences incompatible with those first principles of Christianity engraved on the reason and conscience, which, consciously or unconsciously, are always appealed to as the highest and conclusive evidence. If, in doing so, they felt called upon to offer a solution of those

philosophical or historical puzzles and riddles, which had (in most cases) given rise to the systems they opposed, they did this apologetically, in self-defence. But they by no means agreed in these attempts: nor did they assume, at that time, any authority for their system, but offered it, with as good arguments as they could urge, for a respectful and thoughtful examination, as not being in contradiction to the sacred records and the dictates of conscience and reason. We must therefore beware of supposing that, because our author does not enter into the well-known doctrinal controversies of his time, he had not his own opinions on the subjects of them. If we find them recorded in other writings of his, we have merely to prove that they are compatible with the view here so plainly stated, and that they rest upon the same grounds.

Having said thus much, I will now pass to the third and concluding part of our author's Confession of Faith, after I have given utterance to some reflections which this tenth book has awakened in my mind.

It is clear that the parts of the Confession of Faith hitherto examined are a philosophical explanation of the prologue of St. John's Gospel. Now, while it seems to me that this commentary is as intelligible as the text (although not so full), I have the feeling that many of my readers, divines themselves, will rather think I ought to say that the commentary is

no less unintelligible than the text. These persons ought to be aware, that, in saying (or thinking) so, they place themselves on the side of the infidels ; for what is not intelligible is either untrue or useless ; and no infidel ever said more against Christianity. I know full well that some will fling back this insinuation as an insult, and answer the attack by protesting their orthodoxy. I also know that they are ready to test this orthodoxy by an unqualified submission, either to the word of God, or to the orthodox formularies of the Ecumenic Councils, at least to those of the fourth and fifth centuries. But they must not take it ill if I reply, that in saying this they do not answer my argument, or extricate themselves out of their difficulties. For, if they fall back upon the word of God, they show very little respect for it by setting down its most sublime and important declarations as unintelligible to the human reason, which accepts the Scriptures as containing revelations of truth respecting divine things. It appears to me that divines, who profess a faith in something not intelligible, must have still less respect for the sacred records than the dissentients whose doctrines they most abhor. There is scarcely a more ungrammatical and false interpretation, than the old Unitarian translation of the last words of the first verse of the prologue, " And the Word was a God ;" but at least this shows an endeavour to bring words which

relate to the very substance of reason, into accordance with reason, as they conceived it; and they ought to have been met on this ground. As to a comparison of the apostles of this dry Protestant orthodoxy with the eminent leaders of the Gnostics in this respect, it would be ridiculous. Those men showed themselves full of intellectual and moral Christian earnestness in their speculations respecting this very prologue; whereas, if one reads all that the old Protestant schools have said on it during these 250 years, there is scarcely anything, philosophically speaking, but chaff to be found in it. The text is explained by theological terms and formularies, which at least must be taken to be conventional, till they are shown to be the necessary and only possible deductions from the sacred text. Now this has never been proved; and I have no hesitation in saying, that no honest and intelligent criticism can prove them to be sufficiently warranted, biblically or philosophically, for exclusive acceptance: nor are they strictly reconcilable with the true, genuine, uninterpolated writings of the fathers of the first, second, and third centuries. I speak advisedly; for I have read these writings with a sincere desire to understand and appreciate them; and, in judging them, I use nothing but the liberty, or rather I exercise the duty, of a Protestant Christian searching for truth. Those orthodox divines forget, what our excellent friend Maurice has, for many years, endeavoured, it appears

in vain, to impress upon them, — that revelation reveals truth, but does not make truth, — that truth must be true in itself. Now, if true in itself, in its substance, not through any outward authority, revealed truth must be intelligible to reason. For reason is of the Divine substance, the image and reflection of the eternal, Divine reason, and therefore able to discover (as it is acknowledged to have done) the laws of the movements of the celestial bodies in space, and (as it must be allowed to have done to a certain degree) the laws of the human mind moving in time.

The same answer I must return to those who, seeing these difficulties, and despairing both of human reason and of the Scriptures, fly, in their materialist faithlessness, which makes them rebel against the God within them and in the Scriptures, to the external authority of a set of priests claiming infallible authority for their decrees, — I care little whether from Rome, or from any other place. My first argument against their absurd sophism is this: Either Christianity is true; or it is not true. The Scriptures either contain the word of God to mankind; or they do not contain it. Christ either spoke the truth; or he did not speak it. Now if Christianity be not true (and the deepest scepticism stares at me in many of their writings), what authority in the world can make it true? But if it be true (as of course they ought to assume), it is true, because true in itself, and wants

no authority whatever to make it true. But that is not all I have to say to them on this point. If what the Church asserts of Christ and Christianity is divinely true, and therefore true by its own divine substance, it is essential that this should not be conceived to be true through an authority placed between Scripture and the conscience.

No divine authority is given to any set of men to make truth for mankind. The supreme judge is the Spirit in the Church, that is to say, in the universal body of men professing Christ. The universal conscience is God's highest interpreter. If Christ speaks truth, his words must speak to the human reason and conscience, whenever and wherever they are preached: let them, therefore, be preached. If the Gospels contain inspired wisdom, they must themselves inspire with heavenly thoughts the conscientious inquirer and the serious thinker: let them, therefore, freely be made the object of inquiry and of thought. Scripture, to be believed true with a full conviction, must be at one with reason: let it, therefore, be treated rationally. By taking this course we shall not lose strength; but we shall gain a strength which no Church ever had. There is strength in Christian discipline, if freely accepted by those who are to submit to it: there is strength in spiritual authority, if freely acknowledged by those who care for Christ: there is strength unto death in the enthusiasm of an unenlightened people, if sin-

cere, and connected with lofty moral ideas. But there is no strength to be compared with that of a faith which identifies moral and intellectual conviction with religious belief, with that of an authority instituted by such a faith, and of a Christian life based upon it, and striving to Christianize this world of ours, for which Christianity was proclaimed. Let those who are sincere, but timid, look into their conscience, and ask themselves whether their timidity proceeds from faith, or whether it does not rather betray a want of faith. Europe is in a critical state, politically, ecclesiastically, socially. Where is the power able to reclaim a world, which, if it be faithless, is become so under untenable and ineffective ordinances? which, if it is in a state of confusion, has become confused by those who have spiritually guided it? Armies may subdue liberty; but armies cannot conquer ideas: much less can Jesuits and Jesuitical principles restore religion, or superstition revive faith. I deny the prevalence of a destructive and irreligious spirit in the hearts of the immense majority of the people. I believe that the world wants not less, but more religion. But, however this be, I am firmly convinced that God governs the world, and that He governs it by the eternal ideas of truth and justice engraved on our conscience and reason; and I am sure that nations, who have conquered, or are conquering, civil liberty for themselves, will sooner or later as certainly demand liberty of religious thought, and that

those whose fathers have victoriously acquired religious liberty, will not fail to demand civil and political liberty also. With these ideas, and with the present irresistible power of communicating ideas, what can save us except religion, and therefore Christianity? But then it must be a Christianity based upon that which is eternally God's own, and is as indestructible and as invincible as He is himself: it must be based upon Reason and Conscience. I mean reason spontaneously embracing the faith in Christ, and Christian faith feeling itself at one with reason and with the history of the world. Civilized Europe, as it is at present, will fall; or it will be pacified by this liberty, this reason, this faith. To prove that the cause of Protestantism in the nineteenth century is identical with the cause of Christianity, it is only necessary to attend to this fact; that they both must sink and fall, until they stand upon this indestructible ground, which, in my inmost conviction, is the real, genuine, original ground upon which Christ placed it. Let us, then, give up all notions of finding any other basis, all attempts to prop up faith by effete forms and outward things: let us cease to combat reason, whenever it contradicts conventional forms and formularies. We must take the ground pointed out by the Gospel, as well as by the history of Christianity. We may then hope to realize what Christ died for, to see the Church fulfil the high destinies of Christianity, and God's will manifested by Christ to mankind, so as to

make the kingdoms of this earth the kingdoms of the Most High. I am aware, my dear friend, that all this is only true of the true religion : nobody but a fanatic or an idiot can apply this test to any other. But here my dilemma returns : either Christianity is that true religion ; or on what plea do you reason with us on Christianity, and lay down the law, as being infallible like God ?

Taking this high ground, I hope I am truly thankful to find that there is visible and traceable in the history of Christianity the overruling power of the Divine Spirit. This spirit I believe to be infused into the universality of the human conscience, which is identical with the God-fearing and God-loving reason, and which answers in those sublime regions to what in things connected with the visible world is called common sense. This divine power of reason and conscience I find to have been so great, that it has overruled all the imperfections and errors both of ancient and modern communities and formularies. Any Protestant Christian, who, taking a Christian view of the world's history, and leading a Christian life, goes rationally and conscientiously through the history of Christianity, can feel himself in perfect communion with the Churches of the East and West, and see the working of the Spirit in scholastic, and even in Tridentine definitions, if he will only interpret the Scriptures honestly and according to the general rules of interpretation ; if he

take the writings of the fathers according to the spirit, as a limited part of the development of Christianity, and judge their speculations, not as aggressive dogmatism, but as philosophical explanations given in self-defence; and finally, if he consider the decrees and formularies of those Churches, not in the light of his own system, but as they were understood by the members of those Churches. I confess, that, as I prefer St. John's and St. Paul's speculative doctrines infinitely to those of the fathers of the second and third centuries, so I prefer theirs considerably to the formulary of Nice, with the letter of which I cannot conscientiously find that they agree. Allowing this, I must see, in all the following definitions of the Councils, an element of imperfection, of defect, of error, which develops itself necessarily in the same ratio as the development goes on; just as the element of truth, which I find by the side of it, must manifest itself more and more, in the same degree as the true original groundwork is more consistently maintained against destructive efforts. And going patiently along with men like Neander and Dorner, through all the dark and darkening ages from the fourth to the seventh century, I arrive at the conclusion respecting the formularies concerning the divine and human nature and will, that even the later Councils would have been decidedly wrong, if they had laid down the contrary of what they maintain, which would have been what the heretics either

said, or were (sometimes with evident injustice) supposed to have said. If there is any manifest proof of a divine ordinance of human destinies, it is the history of the Church. There were certainly many circumstances which wonderfully facilitated the spreading and the maintenance of Christianity. The ancient nationalities were worn out. Judaism had merged into Rabbinism; and the destruction of Jerusalem had extinguished the sanctuary, with which, since Ezra, the faith of the Jews had been identified. Heathenism had also lost its national basis and local faith: the unbelief of the Romans was grosser than that of the Greeks; so was their remaining superstition. The human mind was yearning after some high and restoring union and fusion of the different nationalities; and the idea of a common humanity and a common truth, born out of Christianity, was the fulfilment of the world's deepest longings. But then look at the difficulties. First, there was the decaying civilization of an effete world; and on the other side the barbarism of a fresh and noble, but wholly undeveloped conquering race. There was no nation, no national life, the only sound supporters of a pure and hallowing religion: there was a general decay in literature, in learning, in philosophy: there was a universal despair as to the destinies of mankind. The world seemed to be actually governed, not by God, but by the devil. Then look to the inward difficulties. There was a very imperfect representation

of the Christian Church in all the Councils, to begin with that of Nice,—a system excluding any action of the laity, which means the Christian people, and representing only a part even of the clergy. Then there were all the intrigues of Byzantine emperors and empresses, imperial aide-de-camps, and palace eunuchs. There were the passions and ambition of an uncontrolled clergy. There was the *odium theologicum* of the doctors. Finally, there was the rage of the ruling powers of the age for realizing Christianity, not in social institutions, not in the duties and works of love, but almost exclusively in hierarchical discipline, and for making the sole test of communion with Christ and God consist in certain speculative formularies, which necessarily brought their antagonist principles, and therefore schism and persecution along with them. This rage was intimately connected with the despair of the human mind, and with the death of all nations, and of all national life. Debarred from such an existence,—the end for which man was created (because the only means of realizing God's purpose with the world),—having no fatherland to cling to, no national institutions to defend, all the leading Christian minds were seized with the appalling idea, that this world was drawing to its end, and shared, so far, the despairing feelings of the rest of mankind. They looked to another world with faith; but they did not feel a vocation to make this world itself, with its social and national

institutions, the object of their Christian thoughts and efforts. Now the great miracle of the history of the last fifteen hundred years is, that the world was renewed notwithstanding all this, and that the fundamental records and ideas of Christianity have been saved, and, although very imperfectly, developed, and preserved for future development, in the whole of Christendom as it exists at present in the East and the West.

Against the pretension of those formularies to be rules of faith, I must move the saving clause of *quatenus concordant*, and that in a twofold manner. I must limit my assent to their clear concordance, not only with Scripture (which is the great Protestant principle), but also with the earlier fathers and decrees: for, in the sense of the ancient Churches, it is this continuity which gives them a claim to supreme authority, and invests them with the infallibility of the Church. Now this continuity, whatever be its value, does not exist, as to what the ancient Churches say or are supposed to say, except partially and imperfectly. Therefore, beginning from the formulary of Nice, all confessions of faith stand doubly upon sufferance, so soon as they aspire to supreme authority.

That limited truth which they possess is all they ought to aspire to, not only because they are merely true in a limited sense, but also because an unlimited authority attributed to them crushes the very element of life in them. I defy those who

claim more, to show me any author of our time, whether Catholic or Protestant, who, being wedded to the letter of any formulary, has gone through this research, philosophically and historically, and has not evidently betrayed facts and reason, or been brought either to open scepticism, or else to that dry and unproductive outward formalism, which is only another form of scepticism. No Protestant in particular will ever arrive at that satisfactory result, which the history of the Church and of the world presents to me, and feel his mind settled both as a philosopher and a Christian, who takes his stand on the confused and idealess formalism of that age of despair and hypocrisy, the second part of the seventeenth, and the first part of the eighteenth century. If he can read the old fathers critically, and will be consistent, he will arrive at open unbelief. Let no one search, unless he be prepared to take the high ground of Christian life and liberty, and to apply historical criticism to the facts, and independent speculation to the ideas, of Christianity. But above all let him be honest and true. Whoever makes a bargain with his reason and conscience, will bruise and twist them, and lose all power of conviction and of faith. This is true, not only individually, but also nationally.

As to those who love servitude, and fancy they can avert scepticism by authority, and to those who show their Christian charity by priestly anathemas, their

learning by ignoring facts, and their wisdom by superseding Christian wisdom with arbitrary decisions and dictates, let me say to them with Christian frankness, what Hippolytus says to the Quartodecimans. If they will take the formularies of the Councils and of the Church as a law binding upon them, let them show reason why they do not take them all, — not only all the formularies, past, present, and future, but also the other ordinances which the same Councils, with the same authority, have laid upon mankind. Hippolytus' argument holds good against them: if they are bound by any part of the law, as such, they are bound by the whole. As to ourselves, my dearest friend, let us thank God that we are not thus bound; and let us live, and, if necessary, die, for the precious liberty of the children of God!

III.

Conclusion. Address to all men to fulfil their divine Destiny.

Such is the true doctrine about the Deity, O ye men, Hellenes and Barbarians, Chaldæans and Assyrians, Egyptians and Libyans, Indians and Ethiopians, Celts, and ye captains, the Latins*, and all ye who dwell in	Τοιοῦτος ὁ περὶ τὸ Θεῖον ἀληθὲς λόγος, ὃ ἄνθρωποι Ἕλλη- νές τε καὶ βάρβαροι, Χαλ- δαῖοί τε καὶ Ἀσσύριοι, Αἰ- γύπτιοί τε καὶ Λίβυες, Ἰνδοί τε καὶ Αἰθίοπες, Κελτοὶ τε καὶ οἱ στρατηγούντες Λατῖνοι, πάντες τε οἱ τὴν Εὐρώπην
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* This is a piece of learning and a speech of his own.

Europe, Asia, and Libya, to whom I am become a counsellor, being a benevolent disciple of the benevolent Logos, in order that, flocking to us, ye may be taught by us, who is the true God, and what His well-ordered workmanship, and may not attend to the sophisms of artful reasonings, nor to the vain promises of delusive heretics, but to the grave simplicity of unadorned truth. By this knowledge ye will escape the approaching threat of the fire of judgment, and the dark lightless eye of Tartarus, never illumined by the voice of the Logos, and the ebullitions of the everflowing lake of hellish fire*, and the ever

Ἀσίαν τε καὶ Λιβύην κατοικοῦντες, οἷς σύμβουλος ἐγὼ γίνομαι, φιλανθρώπου Λόγου ὑπάρχων μαθητῆς καὶ φιάνθρωπος, ὅπως προσδραμόντες διδαχθῆτε παρ' ἡμῶν τίς ὁ ὄντως Θεός, καὶ ἡ τοῦτου εὐτακτος δημιουργία, μὴ προσέχοντες σοφίσμασιν ἐντέχνων λόγων, μηδὲ ματαίοις ἐπαγγελίαις κλειψιλόγων αἰρετικῶν, ἀλλ' ἀληθείας ἀκόμπων ἀπλότῃ σεμνῇ, δι' ἧς ἐπιγνώσεως ἐκφεύξεσθε ἐπερχομένην πυρὸς κρίσεως ἀπειλήν, καὶ ταρτάρου ζοφερόν ὄμμα ἀφώτιστον, ὑπὸ Λόγου φωνῆς μὴ καταλαμφθὲν, καὶ βρασμὸν ἀεννάου λίμνης, γεέννης (? c. γεννητρος) φλογός,

For in the "Chronicle" Hippolytus says (sect. ii. p. 50.), "Romani qui et Latini." Perhaps he had an apocalyptic reason for this, considering *Latinus*, as Irenæus did, to be the word signified by the secret number 666, as denoting the pagan Roman power. Indeed I find he adopts this interpretation from his master in his treatise about Antichrist (Opp. i. p. 25.).

* Cod. λίμνης γεννητρος φλογός. Ed. γεννήτορος. Hippolytus wanted perhaps an adjective of γεννά, which might be γεεννητικού. It may also be conjectured that he wrote βρασμὸν ἀεννάου λίμνης γεννήτορα φλογός.

fixed, threatening eye of the avenging angels of Tartarus, and the worm which winds itself without rest round the mouldering body to feed upon it. This thou wilt escape, having been taught to know the true God; and thou wilt have an immortal body, together with an imperishable soul, and wilt receive the kingdom of Heaven: having lived on earth, and having known the heavenly King, thou wilt be a companion of God, and a fellow-heir with Christ, not subject to lust, or passions, or sickness. For

καὶ ταρταρούχων ἀγγέλων κο-
λαστῶν ὄμμα αἰ μένον ἐν
ἀπειλῇ, καὶ σκώληκα ἀπαύ-
στως ἐπιστρεφόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκ-
εράσαν σῶμα ὡς ἐπὶ τροφήν.*
Καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐκφύζη, Θεὸν
τὸν ὄντα διδαχθεὶς, ἔξεις δὲ
ἀθάνατον τὸ σῶμα καὶ ἀφθαρ-
τον ἅμα ψυχῇ, [καὶ] βασιλεί-
αν οὐρανῶν ἀπολήψῃ, ὁ ἐν γῇ
βιούς καὶ ἐπουράνιον βασιλεί-
αν ἐπιγνούς, ἔσῃ δὲ ὁμιλητὴς
Θεοῦ, καὶ συγκληρονόμος Χρι-
στοῦ, οὐκ ἐπιθυμίαις ἢ πάθεσι
καὶ νόσοις δουλούμενος. Γέ-

* The unintelligible text runs thus: καὶ σκώληκα σώματος ἀπουσίαν ἐπιστρεφόμενον, ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκεράσαν σῶμα ὡς ἐπιστρέφων. The learned editor observes the silence of despair. I restore the text from Hippolytus' own words. In the above-described fragment of the "Treatise on the Universe," we read, in a passage very similar to ours, the following words (i. 122.): καὶ τούτους μὲν τὸ πῦρ ἄσβεστον διαμένει καὶ ἀτελεύτητον, σκώληξ δὲ τις ἔμπυρος, μὴ τελευτῶν, μηδὲ σῶμα διαφθείρων, ἀπαύστῳ δ' ὀδύνῃ ἐκ σώματος ἐκεράσων παραμένει. The man who said this must have written in our passage: καὶ σκώληκα ἀπαύστως ἐπιστρεφόμενον ἐπὶ τὸ ἐκεράσαν σῶμα. The emendation ὡς ἐπὶ τροφήν, instead of ὡς ἐπιστρέφων seems to me self-evident. Σώματος was intruded when ἀπαύστως had become ἀπουσίαν, which demanded a genitive. This rhetorical passage is remarkable as an exposition of the doctrine laid down in our text,—that the body of the pious becomes immortal after death, like that of Christ.

thou hast become God. For whatever hardships thou hadst to suffer when a man, He gave them to thee because thou wast a man; but that which is proper to God, God has declared that he will give thee when thou shalt be deified, being born again an immortal, having known God who has made thee. This is the meaning of *Know thyself*. For to know oneself befalls him who is called by him, in the very act of being known by him.

Therefore, O men, persist not in your enmity; and doubt not that you will exist again. For Christ is he, whom the God of all has ordered to wash away the sins of mankind, renewing the old man, having called him his image

γονας γὰρ Θεός· ὅσα γὰρ ὑπ-
έμεινας πάθη ἄνθρωπος ὦν,
ταῦτα ἐδίδου (t. δίδου) ὅτι ἄν-
θρωπος εἶς· ὅσα δὲ παρακο-
λονθεῖ Θεῷ, ταῦτα παρέχειν
ἐπήγγελται Θεός, ὅταν (t. ὅτε)
θεοποιηθῇς, ἀθάνατος γεννη-
θεῖς*, ἐπιγνούς τὸν πεποιη-
κότα Θεόν. Τουτέστι τὸ Γνωθ
σεαυτόν. Τὸ γὰρ ἐπιγνώνας
ἐαυτόν [τῷ] ἐπιγνωσθῆναι
συμβέβηκε τῷ καλουμένῳ ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ.

Μὴ φιλεχθρήσητε † τοίνυν
ἐαυτοῖς, ἄνθρωποι, μὴδὲ τὸ πα-
λινδρομεῖν διατάσσει. Χριστὸς
γὰρ ἐστὶν [ϝ] ὁ κατὰ πάντων
Θεός (t. Θεός, ὅς) τὴν ἁμαρ-
τίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποπλύνειν
προσέταξε, νέον τὸν παλαιὸν
ἄνθρωπον ἀποτελῶν, εἰκόνα

* The text has : γεννηθεῖς. Τουτέστι τὸ Γνωθὶ σεαυτόν, ἐπιγνούς τὸν πεποιηκότα Θεόν. I have simply transposed the words. Moreover, I have inserted [τῷ] before ἐπιγνωσθῆναι. The sentence refers to 1 Cor. xiii. 13. : τότε δὲ ἐπιγνώσομαι καθὼς καὶ ἐπεγνώσθην.

† μὴ φιλεχθρήσητε, instead of μὴ φιλεχθήσητε, which is not a Greek word. The words are taken from Proverbs, iii. 30., μὴ φιλεχθρήσητε : not in the sense of quarrelling with each other, but in that of treating each other as enemies, acting against their divine vocation.

from the beginning typically, showing forth his love to thee. If thou art obedient to his solemn behests, and becomest a good follower of him who is good, thou wilt become like him, honoured by him. For God acts the beggar towards thee, and having made thee God to his glory.	τοῦτον καλέσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς διὰ τύπου, τὴν εἰς σέ ἐπιδεικνύ- μενος στοργήν. * οὐ προστά- γμασιν ὑπακούσας σεμνοῖς, καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἀγαθὸς γενόμενος μι- μητής, ἔσῃ ὅμοιος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τιμηθεῖς. Σοῦ γὰρ πτωχεύει Θεὸς καὶ σέ Θεὸν ποιήσας εἰς δόξαν αὐτοῦ.
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Now before I say a word on this third part of the exposition of the true faith by Hippolytus, let me request you to direct your attention to the state of our manuscript.

You will have perceived that our text ends abruptly, in the midst of a sentence, with rather

* This important sentence needs correction, unless one will place the author in contradiction with himself. He cannot have said that Christ was the Father, which the words in the present text imply. He cannot have said that Christ ordered men to wash off sins. Χριστὸς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ κατὰ πάντα θεός, ὃς τὴν ἁμαρτίαν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀποκλύνειν προσέταξε, νέον τὸν παλαιὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀποτελῶν, εἰκόνα τοῦτον καλέσας ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, τὴν εἰς σέ ἀποδεικνύμενος στοργήν. God, according to His eternal purpose of redemption, ordered Christ to wash away the sins of mankind, making new the old man. The absurdity of the present text becomes still more glaring, if we recollect what we have just heard Hippolytus say of the relation of God the Creator to the Logos. The corruption of the text may be accidental (through the repetition of the last two letters of Θεός); but it may also be the consequence of a designed correction in *pejus*.

startling words: "God acts the beggar towards thee, and having made thee God to his glory" * . . .

Certainly the book did not end here, nor with this period. So solemn an address could never come to a close without the doxology, which terminates the "Treatise on the Universe" (Opp. i. 222.). How then can a book of such length and labour, the work of his life, have ended without it? But, moreover, must it not have had a solemn conclusion, worthy of what precedes? The whole winding up, the real conclusion, is wanting. We have, at the utmost, come to the closing sentence of what I have called the third article of the author's Confession of Faith: no further, if so far.

Herein I am sure, my dear friend, you go along with me. But will you not think me too bold, or too fanciful, if I assert, that Providence has most probably preserved for us the real conclusion? and that the chasm, between the end of our text and the beginning of the fragment I allude to, is perhaps not very great?

I am sure you will at least listen patiently to my reasons for what appears so strange a conjecture.

You recollect the very beautiful and justly ad-

* Our learned editor assures us that what follow next are astrological absurdities. These absurdities, we must suppose, occupy the whole of folio 136., for it is only on folio 137. that the passage about the antiquity of Jewish wisdom begins, which the editor has judiciously inserted in its proper place, after 132.

mired second fragment, which in our editions of Justin's works is given as the end of that patristic gem, the "Epistle to Diognetus." This epistle is certainly the work of a cotemporary of Justin the martyr : and Hefele has very properly received it into his collection of the Apostolic Fathers. You will also be aware, that, though the second fragment appears as the conclusion of that epistle in the only MS. we possess, most critics have believed it to be the end of some lost work of antiquity. The manuscript says itself, the original which the scribe copied had here a chasm (*ἔγκοπή*). How many words or sheets had fallen out, he evidently did not know. I cannot here state all the reasons which have induced me to believe that this fragment does not belong to the letter to Diognetus. In the edition which I have prepared of this relic, I believe I have proved that the letter to Diognetus is the lost early letter of Marcion, of which Tertullian speaks as being Catholic, but that we possess only the first half of it; and that the second fragment, that which has an end, but no beginning, must be by another author. That letter is addressed to a Gentile who had put some curious philosophical questions to the writer respecting Christianity and the Christians : and it is evidently written immediately after the great Jewish rebellion under Hadrian. Indeed it is highly probable that the Diognetus addressed in that letter is no other than Diognetus the philosopher, the tutor

of Marcus Aurelius, of whom that good emperor speaks so feelingly and gratefully in his memoirs.

The second fragment on the other hand addresses, not one, but many: the author speaks as a teacher of the Gentiles, being himself a disciple of the man-loving Word. He speaks of his great labour and knowledge, which out of love he had communicated to his fellow-creatures: and he expresses his firm belief, that the Word will settle all difficulties about "times," and that the Lord's Passover will progress in order. He then concludes with a solemn doxology.

But hear his own words: I will give you the whole text, as I have arranged it for my edition of the "Epistle to Diognetus," with the assistance and sanction of two eminent philologers, Lachmann (ὁ μακάριος) and Haupt.

I do not preach strange things; nor am I irrationally zealous; but, having been a disciple of the Apostles, I am become a teacher of the Gentiles, imparting that which has been delivered to the worthy disciples of truth. For how should he who has been rightly taught, and been beloved by the Word, not strive to learn clearly what

Οὐ ξενὰ ὁμιλῶ, οὐδὲ παρὰ λόγως ζηλῶ, ἀλλὰ ἀποστόλων γενόμενος μαθητῆς γίνομαι διδάσκαλος ἐθνῶν, τὰ παραδόντα ἀξίως ὑπηρετῶν* γινόμενοις ἀληθείας μαθηταῖς. τίς γὰρ ὀρθῶς διδαχθεὶς καὶ Λόγῳ προσφιλεὶς γεννηθεὶς † οὐκ ἐπιζητεῖ σαφῶς μαθεῖν τὰ

* ἀξίως ὑπηρετῶ,

† προσφιλεῖ γεννηθεὶς,

the Word has manifested to His disciples? For to them the Word revealed himself when He appeared, speaking openly, not recognised by the unbelieving, but expounding all to his disciples, who, having been accounted faithful by Him, understood the mysteries of the Father. For this reason the Father sent the Word, that he might appear to the world; and He, though rejected by the Jewish people, was preached by the Apostles, and believed in by the nations. This is He who was from the beginning, who appeared as new and is found to be old, and who, ever young, is begotten in the hearts of believers. This is He who has ever been, and to-day is accounted a Son, by whom the Church is enriched, and that simple grace is made abounding in the believers, which vouchsafes understanding, which manifests the mysteries of God, which announces the times, which

διὰ Λόγον δειχθέντα φανερώς μαθηταῖς; οἷς ἐφάνέρωσεν ὁ Λόγος φανείς, παρῥησίᾳ λαλῶν, ὑπὸ ἀπίστων μὴ νοούμενος, μαθηταῖς δὲ διηγούμενος, οἱ πιστοὶ λογισθέντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἔγνωσαν πατρὸς μυστήρια. οὗ χάριν ἀπέστειλε Λόγον, ἵνα κόσμῳ φανῇ. ὃς ὑπὸ λαοῦ ἀτιμασθεῖς, διὰ ἀποστόλων κηρυχθεῖς, ὑπὸ ἐθνῶν ἐπιστεύθη. οὗτος ὁ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, ὁ καινὸς φανείς, καὶ παλαιὸς εὖρεθεῖς, καὶ πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἀγίῳ καρδίαις γεννώμενος. οὗτος * ὁ αἰεὶ, ὁ σήμερον υἱὸς λογισθεῖς, δι' οὗ πλουτίζεται ἡ ἐκκλησία καὶ χάρις ἀπλουμένη ἐν ἀγίοις πληθύνεται, παρέχουσα νοῦν, φανεροῦσα μυστήρια, διαγγέλλουσα

* ὁ ὅμ.

rejoices over the faithful, which is given to those who seek it, who do not break their sworn faith, nor overstep the boundaries set by their fathers. Then the fear of the law is sung, and the grace of the prophets is understood, and the faith of the Gospels is established, and the tradition of the Apostles is preserved, and the Church leaps for joy. If thou dost not grieve this grace, thou wilt come to know that which the Word preaches, by those whom He chooses, when He will. For whatever we are moved, by the will of the Word commanding us, to announce to you, with labour and out of love, we become to you messengers of the things which have been revealed to us. If you read and hear these things with diligence, you will know what God vouchsafes to those who rightly love him, and you will become a paradise of delight, raising in yourselves a tree all fruitful and flourishing, adorned with manifold

καιρούς, χαίρουσα ἐπὶ πιστοῦς, ἐπιζητοῦσι δωρουμένη, οἷς ὄρκια * πίστεως οὐ θραύεται οὐδὲ ὄρια πατέρων παρορίζεται. εἴτα φόβος νόμου ᾄδεται καὶ προφητῶν χάρις γινώσκεται καὶ εὐαγγελίων πίστις ἰδρυται καὶ ἀποστόλων παράδοσις φυλάσσεται καὶ ἐκκλησίας χαρὰ † σκιπτῇ. ἦν χάριν μὴ λυπῶν ἐπιγνώσῃ ἡ Λόγος ὁμιλεῖ δι' ὧν βούλεται, ὅτε θέλει. ὅσα γὰρ θελήματι τοῦ κελεύοντος Λόγου ἐκινήθημεν ἐξεπεῖν μετὰ πόνου, ἐξ ἀγάπης, τῶν ἀποκαλυφθέντων ἡμῖν γινόμεθα ὑμῖν κοινωνοί. οἷς ἐντυχόντες καὶ ἀκούσαντες μετὰ σπουδῆς εἴσεσθε ὅσα παρέχει ὁ Θεὸς τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν ὁρθῶς, οἱ γενόμενοι παράδεισος τρυφῆς, πάγκαρπον ξύλον εὐθαλοῦν ἀνατείλαντες ἐν ἑαυτοῖς, ποικίλοις καρποῖς κεκοσμημέ-

* ὄρια.

† χάρις.

fruits. For in this garden are planted the tree of knowledge, and the tree of life. But it is not the tree of knowledge that kills: it is disobedience that kills. For it is not written without a meaning, that God in the beginning planted the tree of knowledge and the tree of life in the midst of Paradise, typifying the life through knowledge. Our first parents, not using that knowledge rightly, through the seductions of the serpent, have been deprived (of life). For there is neither life without knowledge; nor is there abiding knowledge without true life; wherefore they were planted beside each other. And because the Apostle saw this power, and wished to blame knowledge when applied to life, without the command of truth, he says: "Knowledge puffeth up, but charity edifieth." For he who imagines that he knows any thing, without that true knowledge, which

νοι. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ
ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον ζωῆς
πεφύτευται· ἀλλ' οὐ τὸ τῆς
γνώσεως ἀναιρεῖ, ἀλλ' ἡ παρα-
κοῇ ἀναιρεῖ. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄσημα
τὰ γεγραμμένα, ὡς Θεὸς ἀπ'
ἀρχῆς ξύλον γνώσεως καὶ
ξύλον * ζωῆς ἐν μέσῳ παρα-
δείσῳ ἐφύτευσεν, διὰ γνώσεως
ζωὴν ἐπιδεικνύς· ἥ μὴ καθα-
ρῶς χρησάμενοι οἱ ἀπ' ἀρχῆς
πλάνη τοῦ ὅφους γεγύμνω-
ται. οὔτε† γὰρ ζωὴ ἄνευ
γνώσεως, οὔτε γνώσις ἀσφαλῆς
ἄνευ ζωῆς ἀληθοῦς· διὸ πλε-
σίον ἐκάτερον πεφύτευται. ἦν
δύναμιν ἐνιδὼν ὁ ἀπόστολος
τὴν τε ἄνευ ἀληθείας προστά-
γματος εἰς ζωὴν ἀσκουμένην
γνώσιν μεμφόμενος λέγει "ἡ
γνώσις φνισιοῖ, ἡ δὲ ἀγάπη
οἰκοδομεῖ." ὁ γὰρ νομίζων εἰδέ-
ναι τι ἄνευ γνώσεως ἀληθοῦς

* γνώσεως καὶ ξύλον om.

† οὐδὲ . . . οὐδέ.

receives witness from the life, is ignorant, and is seduced by the serpent, not having loved to live. But he who has learned knowledge with fear, and seeks life, plants in hope, waiting for the fruit. May, therefore, thy heart be knowledge, and may true wisdom be vouchsafed to thee as life! If thou bearest the tree of that wisdom, and lovest its fruit, thou wilt ever eat that which abounds before God, which the serpent does not touch; and Eve will not come near to seduce thee; nor will she be defiled, but will be trusted as a virgin. And salvation is made manifest, and the Apostles have got understanding, and the Lord's Passover advances, and His flocks are gathered, and all that is not well ordered is harmonized, and to teach the faithful is the delight of the Word, by whom praise is given to the Father, to whom be glory for ever and ever: Amen.

καὶ μαρτυρουμένης ὑπὸ τῆς ζωῆς, οὐκ ἔγνω, καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὄφως πλανᾶται μὴ ἀγαπήσας τὸ ζῆν· ὁ δὲ μετὰ φόβου ἐπιγνούς καὶ ζωὴν ἐπιζητῶν ἐπ' ἐλπίδι φυντεύει, καρπὸν προσδοκῶν. ἦτω οὖν σοι καρδία γνῶσις, ζωὴ δὲ λόγος ἀληθὴς χορηγούμενος·* οὗ ξύλον φέρων καὶ καρποῦ ἐρῶν τρυγήσεις αἰεὶ τὰ παρὰ Θεῷ εὐπορούμενα†, ὧν ὄφεις οὐχ ἄπτεται. οὐδὲ πλάνη‡ συγχρωτίζεται. Εὐα, οὐδὲ § φθείρεται, ἀλλὰ παρθένος πιστεύεται· καὶ σωτήριον δείκνυται, καὶ ἀπόστολοι συνετίζονται, καὶ τὸ κυρίου πάσχα προέρχεται, καὶ κληροὶ || συνάγονται, καὶ πάντα τὰ ἄκωσμα † ἀρμόζεται, καὶ διδάσκων ἁγίους ὁ Λόγος εὐφραίνεται, δι' οὗ πατὴρ δοξάζεται, ᾧ ἡ δόξα εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας· ἀμήν.

* χωρούμενος.

† πορούμενα ἢ ποθούμενα.

‡ πλάνη.

§ οὐδὲ Εὐα.

|| κληροί.

† καὶ μετὰ κόσμου.

I will sum up my argument in a few words.

We want an end for our great work in ten books, a winding-up worthy of the grand subject, of the author's high standing and pretensions, and with the solemnity of a concluding address. Now we find such a concluding fragment, which wants a beginning and an author. Whether we consider its contents, or its style, if it is not, it might very well be, the close of our work.

The author of the fragment takes the same ground as ours. He calls himself a disciple of the Logos, and a teacher of the Gentiles; so does Hippolytus. He preaches the Logos as the all-inspiring principle; so does Hippolytus. He attributes this Spirit to the Church, that is to say, to the community of the faithful disciples of the apostles: so does Hippolytus. The working of that Spirit, infused into the community of Christians, will lead to harmony and concord respecting faith, worship, times of festivals. All this is just what Hippolytus lived and wrote for, as our next letter will prove still more closely, which will also afford us ample opportunity of showing in detail the unity, not of doctrine only, but also of style and language, between our book and the fragment.

Now, before I proceed to this last inquiry, shall I, my dear friend—I believe I must—say something in defence of our author, to those who may be inclined to fly off directly, and to despair of his

orthodoxy, or to deny the authenticity of our book, on account of certain expressions, in the third and concluding part of his Confession of Faith, which to some people in our time may sound as pantheistic, if not atheistic? It appears to me that the orthodoxy of such people respecting the Spirit is as idealess and dead as respecting the Logos and the Son. They have just as much cause for being alarmed by this third article on account of what they call Pantheism, as by the second on account of a supposed incorrect Trinitarianism. If they will read any philosophical father of the first centuries, even Athanasius himself, they will be shocked by expressions respecting the nature and intelligence of man very much like these; expressions certainly abhorrent from the terminology of Paley and Burnet, as much as from the language of the Roman Catechism, but not at all, that I can see, from the words of St. Paul and St. John, nay, of Christ himself. What can they find stronger than St. Paul's saying, "In Him we live, and move, and have our being," or than Christ's repeated declarations respecting the identity of the human and divine nature? Before they identify Christianity with a bare theism, let them look at what it has produced among those who know nothing better; — a maimed Judaic Mohammedanism, a system impotent to connect God with His own manifestation, a system which gives us an extramundane God, with a godless world and nature, which leaves man, God's image, in a po-

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sition irreconcilable with Christ's most solemn words and promises, and which degrades Revelation itself to an outward communication, which, as one of their apostles said, might (for aught he could see) have been vouchsafed just as well to a dog, if it had so pleased God. So much for theism and the theistical criticism upon our author's concluding sentences. As to the authenticity of such expressions, we shall presently have more of Hippolytus' pantheism, if pantheism it be. In the mean time I remain,

Your faithful friend,

BUNSEN.

FIFTH LETTER.

HIPPOLYTUS' LIFE AND WRITINGS, AND THE THEOLOGICAL AND ECCLESIASTICAL CHARACTER OF HIS AGE.

Carlton Terrace, 27th June, 1851.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I am sure you have been wondering why, in proving that Origen is not the author of our work, I have not availed myself of an argument which has forced itself upon us in almost every section of this remarkable document,—I mean the impossibility that such a book should have been written at Alexandria, or by an Alexandrian scholar who had merely passed a short time at Rome, as a visitor, in the time of Zephyrinus. How could Origen, in his literary seclusion, have known all that passed many years later in the bosom of the College of Cardinals, or the Roman presbytery, as it was then called? all the ecclesiastical *coteries* and chit-chat of Rome? How should he know, or what would he care, that such and such a Christian banker in Victor's time, who was dead when young Origen came to Rome, lived in the quarter called *Piscina publica*? How could he know what Alcibiades the Syrian talked at Rome

under Callistus about the Elchasaite impostures? or so many other things and facts with which his genuine writings show no acquaintance?

I can assure you, that I feel the force of this argument very strongly. I even hope to extend it much further, and to establish in this letter that, above all, Origen never could have written the Confession of Faith which we have just read; for the simple reason, that his own Confession of Faith is based upon a different system, and bears a decidedly different character, even in language, style, and in its theological terms. In short, I am convinced that every thing in our book points, not only to the West, but to Rome itself, and that, if the ancient authorities did not tell us that Hippolytus wrote a book with the same identical title, and if we did not learn from Photius that it contained exactly what we have found in all its details, we must have come to the conclusion that Hippolytus wrote it, — supposing it granted that Hippolytus was a Roman.

But this is precisely the point which I am obliged to prove first. Everybody had indeed thought so, till, in the seventeenth century, the French ecclesiastical writer, Le Moyne, not knowing how to reconcile earlier and later titles given to Hippolytus in the traditions about his martyrdom, took up the unfortunate notion that the *Portus Romanus* (or rather *Portus urbis Romæ*) mentioned as his bishopric, was the *Portus Romanus* (or *Romanorum*) in Arabia,

now called Aden. Did not Eusebius mention Hippolytus along with Beryllus of Bostra, which is in Arabia? Tillemont Le Nain felt himself in a similar embarrassment, but was content to say that the title of Bishop of Portus might be an invention. The only reason he gave for this sweeping sentence was, that there is a great confusion about the said Hippolytus, and that wise men of his Church found that, to do justice to all the traditions, two Hippolytuses were not enough, and that there must have been three. On the other hand good honest Ruinart declared very judiciously he saw no necessity either for two or for three; and although there were no genuine "Acta Martyrii" of Hippolytus, bishop of Portus, near Ostia, whose death Prudentius had sung, his celebrated hymn upon this martyr was as good as other "Acts."

Unhappily this did not satisfy Cave, the canon of Windsor, when, in his elaborate literary ecclesiastical history, he came to treat of Hippolytus, in a very learned, but infelicitous and uncritical article. Questioning many points which are well established, and rejecting the very best evidence (as Dodwell is so apt to do), he not only embraces Le Moynes's opinion, but goes so far as to say that there are only two points on which he has no doubt: first, that Hippolytus was a bishop in Arabia; and, secondly, that he was a native of that country. Yet it is not difficult to show that Le

under Callistus about the Elchasaite impostures? or so many other things and facts with which his genuine writings show no acquaintance?

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Moyne's conjecture as to the first point is not only groundless, but involves impossibilities, and that the second assumption is purely gratuitous, and contradicted by the most positive evidence.

Leaving the dead to bury their dead, and the critics of that school to explain misunderstandings and fables as they like, I will place the whole inquiry upon the solid basis of authentic facts and clear evidence.

Eusebius (H. Eccl. vi. 20.), having arrived at the times of Zephyrinus, or the beginning of the third century, says, that at that period flourished some distinguished ecclesiastical authors; and he then names "Beryllus of Bostra in Arabia, and Hippolytus, who also was the chief of some other church," which may designate a single town, as well as a whole diocese in the common sense.

You see immediately how slender the ground would be for making Hippolytus an Arabian bishop, because he lived at the same time with, and is here mentioned immediately after, Beryllus, who was a bishop in that country. Supposing we knew nothing about his native country, and were to be guided by probabilities, it must appear the most unlikely thing in the world, that two out of the three most prominent ecclesiastical authors in Christendom at a given period (Caius the presbyter is the third), should both be bishops in Arabia. Nor is it difficult to explain how it happened that, if (as we shall

see presently) Hippolytus was bishop of the Harbour of Rome, Eusebius should either not know, or not understand it. First, Eusebius was entirely a man of the East; and his literary knowledge of the Western Church in the second and third centuries is notoriously most defective. In the second place, the title of Bishop of the Harbour of Rome must have appeared rather apocryphal to an Eastern writer in Constantine's time, who knew something of the power and influence of "the bishop of old Rome." He had before him a correct list of those bishops of Rome; and no Hippolytus was among them: and what could a separate bishop of the "Harbour of Rome" mean? I have no doubt, Eusebius found in his authorities about Hippolytus,—for I do not suspect him of having read his works,—what we find, that he was a bishop of that harbour; but he thought it a mistake, a blunder, a false writing, and therefore expressed himself guardedly.

But is it not strange, that Jerome, in his short treatise on the illustrious ecclesiastical writers in early times, should repeat these very words of Eusebius, adding, "the name of the town (of which Hippolytus was bishop) I could not learn"? This may sound as a very high authority in the ears of those who have never read Jerome's historical writings critically, in particular that treatise of his, which, on the whole, is little more than an extract from Eusebius, just as his "Chronicle" is a translation from that

of Eusebius. Jerome was not a man of research: as a good Roman (although by birth a Dalmatian), he made inquiries only for immediate practical purposes; and, as a very pugnacious and not very good-humoured theological writer, he cared little for such historical information about old times as he did not particularly like. The doctrines of the fathers of the second and early part of the third century were not to his taste: but he takes care not to attack them: on the contrary, he defends and uses them against the heretics of his time, and against his opponents. I have no doubt, he could easily have found out what place Eusebius meant, as Hippolytus' diocese and residence; for in this article he quotes some works of Hippolytus, not mentioned by Eusebius. But why should he take the trouble? Hippolytus' violent attack upon Callistus, as not only a liar and a scoundrel, but as a heretic, was a disagreeable subject. The phrase above quoted means therefore simply, *Non mi ricordo*.

At all events, it is clear that neither in Eusebius, nor in Jerome, is there the slightest indication of their having taken Hippolytus for an Arab and an Arabian bishop. They say they do not know where he was bishop; but that a bishop he was, and a very eminent ecclesiastical writer of his time.

Yet, not only do all the subsequent chroniclers and ecclesiastical historians know this; but it is stated in a document anterior to Jerome and Eusebius. This is

the "*Chronicon Paschale vel Alexandrinum*," which, in the extract from the treatise of the learned Alexandrian bishop Peter (who suffered martyrdom about 311), respecting the celebration of Easter, gives his quotations from Hippolytus, as we have shown, from our own book (p. 107.). Hippolytus is here designated by his Alexandrian brother "Bishop of the so-called Portus, near Rome."

Cyril and Zonaras give the very same designation of Hippolytus in their historical works. Anastasius, the Roman presbyter (about the year 650), the learned chronicler of his Church, and who knew and used the old fathers, calls Hippolytus "the bishop of Portus, that is, of the Harbour of Rome" (*Fabr. i. 213.*). Nicephorus the Constantinopolitan (about 830), in his "*Chronography*," calls him "a Roman historiographer," evidently with allusion to our work. The learned Syncellus (about 880) mentions Hippolytus in his "*Chronicle*," at the proper place, under Callistus (p. 358.), and calls him most correctly "Saint Hippolytus, the philosopher, bishop of Portus, which is near Rome." The Byzantine historiographer, Nicephorus, son of Callistus (about the year 1320), who treats very accurately of Hippolytus, calls him "a Roman bishop," which, though inaccurate, is easily reducible to the exact truth, and to his usual designation among the later Greek writers, who also give him the epithet of Papa (which means bishop), or Nonnus (which signifies the same, or an abbot).

Against all this evidence is to be put a barbarous title, placed over a quotation from Hippolytus, ascribed to pope Gelasius, in a collection of testimonies about the two natures in Christ.* The passage quoted is indeed found in Hippolytus' treatise against the heresy of Noetus; and pope Gelasius (about 492) may have quoted it. But the title which this quotation bears in the MS. is evidently not by Gelasius, but by a barbarous hand, as the wording shows: — "Hippolyti episcopi et martyris Arabum metropolis in Memoria hæresium." There is neither grammar nor sense in these words. The passage is not in "Memoria hæresium," which ought to mean our great work: but as it exists in the special treatise against Noetus, we may suppose, that this was the work which the barbarous copyist found mentioned. "Arabum metropolis" is an unfortunate basis to build a conjecture upon; for it originated, like many others, in a misinterpretation of the passage in Eusebius' "Ecclesiastical History," which we have already examined.

I may therefore safely sum up the evidence by saying, no ancient author makes Hippolytus an Arabian bishop; and all who name any place of his residence make him a Roman, bishop of the Harbour of Rome called Portus, opposite to Ostia.

It requires a special knowledge of the confusion

* Bibl. Patr. tom. viii. ed. Lugdun.; Fabricii Apol. i. 225.

which began in the latter part of the seventeenth century, and of the ignorance which prevails in many places at present respecting the earliest history of Episcopacy, and of the Church of Rome in particular, to understand how there can be anything surprising in the circumstance, that a Roman clergyman under Severus and Alexander could be called a presbyter, as a member of the clergy of the city of Rome, and could at the same time have the charge of the Church at Portus, for which there was no other title than the old one of bishop. For such was the title of every man who "presided over the congregation" in any city,—at Ostia, at Tusculum, in the other suburban cities. And what is rather curious, they have bishops now, as members of the presbytery of the city of Rome, with the body of certain presbyters and deacons of which they form the governing clerical board of the Church of Rome. The relation of those suburban bishops to the bishop of Rome must, in a certain degree, have been analogous to that which, in later times, existed between the suffragan bishops and the metropolitan; but we know nothing whatever of the particulars. That a town like Portus must have had its own bishop, cannot of course be doubted, as even much smaller towns had their bishop: their city was called their diocese, or their *parœcia*, and the members of their congregation or church their *plebs*; from which word, in later times, was derived the Italian word

pievano, or parish priest. But in those times there existed no *parœciæ* in the sense of *parishes*, which is a corruption of that word. There can therefore be no difficulty on this point; and he who wishes to know more of it need only read his Bingham, and the authorities there collected.* The city of Rome made an exception as to parishes: for, as it was not thought convenient to have two bishops in the same town (although Linus and Cletus had been co-bishops, according to the best authorities), there were fixed local centres from the earliest times for the Christian work and administration; and I have proved elsewhere that they were connected with the Regionarian divisions of the city. After Constantine these divisions had their churches, called *Tituli* or *Cardines*: from which latter term the title *Cardinalis* for a parish priest is derived, a word which we know from the time of Gregory the First, about 600. That these primitive parish priests formed the governing clerical body of Rome, together with the Regionarian deacons, established for the service of the Christian poor and widows, is generally acknow-

* Orig. Eccl. lib. ii. c. xii. t. i. p. 171. sqq. First Carthaginian Council (of 256), Can. 117.: "*Petilianus episcopus dixit, in una plebe Januarii collegæ nostri præsentis, in una diœcesi, quatuor sint constituti contra ipsum.*" In the third Carthaginian Council (397): "*plebes . . . quæ episcopum nunquam habuerunt . . . accipiunt rectores, hoc est, episcopos.*" Nicephorus, v. 15., of Hippolytus: *ἐπίρας παρουκίας προεστώς*, instead of the *ἐκκλησίας* of Eusebius.

ledged: and there can scarcely be a doubt that the suburban bishops were connected with that body as assistants of the metropolitan. We know their modern constitution (since the eleventh century)*, by which the seven suburban bishops were declared the regular assistants of the pope, as "*Cardinales Episcopi*," — a constitution unintelligible, if it did not rest upon their primitive connection with Rome; for Ostia and Portus were at that time miserable places, and had been so for centuries. This accounts also for the maintenance of the title of Bishop of Portus (*Episcopus Portuensis*), which is always given to one of the most eminent ecclesiastics of Rome. Now this title, *Episcopus Portuensis*, is that given to Hippolytus by the most ancient authorities, including Prudentius, as we shall see. The basilica of Saint Hippolytus at Portus is mentioned, as an object of solicitude and respect, in the lives of Leo III. and Leo IV., who, in the eighth and ninth centuries, restored and adorned it. † There is still the episcopal palace in the Porto of this day; and a tower near Fiumicino, on the spot where the branch of the Tiber is traversed, is called Torre di Sant' Ippolito.

* Van Espen, *Jus Eccles. Univ.* t. i. tit. 22. § 14.

† *Liber Pontificalis*, in *Vita Leonis III.*: "*Leo III. fecit in basilica beati Hippolyti martyris in civitate Portuensi vestes*," etc. In *Vita Leonis IV.*: "*Leo IV. in ecclesia beati Hippolyti martyris quæ ponitur in insula Portuensi*," etc.

His statue gives him the same title. This monument, I have said elsewhere, cannot have been erected on the spot where it was found before the time of Constantine, who, as well as Galla Placidia, under Theodosius the Great, erected sanctuaries and buildings in the old Christian cemetery on the Via Tiburtina, in a spot called *Ager Veranus*. But certainly it cannot be later than the sixth century, from the form of the letters in the inscription. Now this monument was found, as I have stated already in the first letter, just 300 years ago, in the spot which Prudentius has so graphically described in his (xi.) hymn on Saint Hippolytus; a hymn written in the time of Theodosius and Honorius, and of which I shall presently say more. It is here only necessary to mention, that Prudentius calls his residence "Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber." The statue found in that place represents a Christian bishop sitting on his *cathedra*. He is identified as Hippolytus, first, by the representation of the Paschal Cycle, beginning with Alexander Severus, mentioned as his invention by Eusebius, and by almost all the authors who speak of him; and, secondly, by the titles of many of the works which the same authors ascribe to him. Ideler*, with his usual good sense and judgment, says, the paschal table there represented necessarily implies

* Handbuch der Chronologie, ii. 213. sqq.

that Hippolytus was a man of the West, and not an Arab; for it is entirely different from the Alexandrian Paschal Cycle used in the East. Besides, the two Latin letters, SS (that is, Bissexus), used in the midst of a Greek inscription, prove the man a Latin.* We may therefore say that this statue, found in the very same ancient Christian cemetery, which was visited and described under Theodosius as the place of rest of Hippolytus, the martyr and bishop, if it represents Hippolytus, as every body agrees, represents a Latin, and therefore the man of the Harbour of Rome.

As to the age of Hippolytus, there are one uniform tradition and one uniform testimony. He is reported to have lived under bishop Zephyrinus and Alexander Severus, at the beginning of the third century: his statue confirms this; and in the ten books which we have examined, he calls "his own time" the period from the end of Victor till after Callistus' death (ix. 1.). This book was evidently written after Callistus' death, which took place in 222, and therefore in the first year of Alexander Severus. In this book he quotes several other writings of his; he speaks of long and renewed researches; he appears during that whole period as a man of weight in the presbytery. All these circumstances, as well as the distance from Victor's death (198, the sixth

* See Franz, *Elementa Epigraphices Græcæ*, p. 351.

year of Septimius Severus) to that of Callistus (about 222), which he speaks of as a cotemporary, prove that our book was written by an old man. The time of Commodus (188 to 192) is familiar to him, with all particulars of the palace and of the presbytery.

It remains to be examined, when and where he suffered martyrdom. The chroniclers who mention his martyrdom place it under Alexander Severus. This, speaking literally, must be erroneous; for the Christians were singularly favoured and prosperous under that emperor. But in the very year of the death of Alexander Severus (235), the persecution of Maximin the Thracian began; and the authentic lists of bishops of the Church of Rome, written under Liberius, state that, under the consuls of that year, Severus and Quintianus, bishop Pontianus and "Hippolytus the presbyter" were "transported to Sardinia, the unwholesome island."

As this point is of great importance for the historical criticism of the account given by Prudentius respecting the martyrdom of Hippolytus, I will insert below the original text of the "Catalogus Liberianus," compared with the most authentic (not yet published) text of the "Liber Pontificalis," from the Neapolitan MS. discovered by Pertz,—a specimen of the criticism on the most ancient annals of the Church of Rome, which I have prepared. I add the corresponding two most authentic texts of the second

recension, the "Catalogus Felicianus," and the Veronese text of the "Catalogus Paulinus."*

* *Catalogus Liberianus*,
sect. iv.

PONTIANUS, annis quinque, mensibus duobus, diebus septem. Fuit temporibus Alexandri a consulatu Pompeiani et Peligniani. Eo tempore Nepotianus (l. Pontianus) episcopus et Hippolytus presbyter exules sunt deportati in insulam novam Sardiniam Severo et Quintiano consulibus. In eadem insula discinctus est iv. kalendas Octobris, et loco ejus ordinatus est Anteros xi. kalendas Decembris consulibus suprascriptis.

Catalogus Felicianus,
sect. vi.

PONTIANUS, natione Romanus ex patre Calpurnio, sedit an. viii. mens. v. dies ii. Martyrio coronatur temporibus Alexandri (sedit) a consulatu Pompeiani et Peliniani. Eodem tempore Pontianus episcopus et Hippolytus presbyter exilio sunt deputati ab Alexandro in Sardiniam insulam Bucinam, Severo et Quintiano consulibus. In eadem insula maceratus et afflictus fustibus, defunctus est iii. kal. Nov. Hic fecit ordina-

Liber Pontificalis, cod. Neapol.
sect. vii.

PONTIANUS sedit an. viii. menses v. dies ii. fuit autem temporibus Alexandria consulatu Pompeiani et Peliniani . . . in eandem insulam defunctus est iii. kal. Novembris et in ejus locum ordinatus est Antheros xi. kal. Decemb. . . Qui etiam sepultus est in cimiterio Calisti via Appia et cessavit episcopatum d. x.

Catalogus Paulinus, cod. Veron.
sect. viii.

PONTIANUS, natione Romanus, patre Calpurnio, sedit annos v. menses ii. dies xxii. Martyrio coronatur. Hic fuit temporibus Alexandri a consulatu Pompeiani et Peliniani. Eo tempore Pontianus episcopus et Hippolytus presbyter exilio sunt deportati ab Alexandro in Sardiniam insulam Bucinam, Severo et Quintiano consulibus: ibique maceratus fustibus, defunctus est vi. kal. Novembris. Hic fecit ordina-

It is scarcely doubtful that this presbyter is our celebrated author. For, as we have seen, every one of the six or seven suburban bishops was member of the presbytery of the Church of Rome, and therefore, in a very succinct, summary list, such as that catalogue is, might be called a presbyter. Besides, after Maximin's persecution, there is none before that of Decius in 250, in which nobody says that Hippolytus suffered; nor do any of his writings point to the time after Alexander Severus. We may therefore set it down as a well attested fact, that Hippolytus suffered martyrdom under Maximin, in the first year of his reign, 236 of our era, or at all events before its close in 238. It is not surprising that we hear no further particulars about Hippolytus, if he died in that persecution: for we have scarcely any details about it.

Starting from this safe ground which we have gained, we can easily separate the historical from the

tiones duas, presbyteros v. diaconos v. episcopos per loca vi. Quem B. Fabianus adduxit navigio et sepelivit in cœmeterio Calisti via Appia, die depositionis ejus ix. kal. Decembris.

tiones ii. presbyteros vi. diaconos v. episcopos vii. quem beatus Fabianus adduxit et sepelivit in cœmeterio Catacumbarum. Cessavit episcopatus dies x.

(On the expression Cœmeterium Catacumbarum, instead of Cœmeterium Calisti, compare Roestell's remarks in the Beschreibung der Stadt Rom, tom. i. p. 374.)

mythical part of Prudentius' account of Hippolytus' martyrdom.

Prudentius found his "Memoria," or chapel, in the catacombs of an ancient cemetery. He calls the place (213, 214.) a spacious cavern (*specus*), although too small for the people who on the festal day of the place came to visit it :

" *Angustum tantis illud specus esse catervis*
Haud dubium est, ampla fauce licet pateat."

There can be no doubt about the site ; for he says that by the side of this sanctuary was the great church in honour of Rome's protomartyr, S. Laurentius (215. sqq.), of which he gives a description, and an accurate and historical one, as my article on this basilica in the "Description of Rome" has shown.* I have proved there that what he saw is the splendid church which now takes the place of the apsis, and belongs to the fourth century. By the side of this basilica the ruins of a church of St. Hippolytus were still visible in the seventeenth century. On this spot the episcopal monument of Hippolytus was found in 1551. I have proved in the "Description of Rome" that this was the place of the old Christian catacombs, called "in Agro Verano," a locality on the ancient Tiburtine road. That Hippolytus' remains were deposited here, is attested by an authority

* *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom*, vol. ii. p. 329. sq., iii. C. p. 312—327. (Church of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura).

greater, as well as more ancient, than that of the Spanish poet. The "Calendarium Liberianum," of the year 352, has the following article on the anniversary festival of St. Hippolytus :

IDIB. AUG. HIPPOLYTI IN VIA TIBURTINA.

This indeed is the only authentic day connected with the history and memory of Hippolytus. Prudentius also says :

"Si bene commemini, colit hunc pulcherrima Roma
Idibus Augusti, mensis ut ipsa vocat."

We are therefore on historical ground, as far as the locality goes, where the remains of Hippolytus were deposited. But Prudentius also knows, that his residence was at the mouth of the Tiber, and at Portus (now Porto) itself :

"Tyrrheni ad litoris oram,
Quæque loca æquoreus proxima Portus habet."

He further knows that he had a flock, and therefore was at the head of an independent congregation or church, which, at that time, as we have seen, always had a bishop as rector. Speaking of the venerable martyr, he says :

"*Plebs* amore *sua* multis comitantibus ibat."

We have already seen that *plebs* is the term of the age for the people of a city, forming a diocese, and having a bishop at their head.

That Portus became a bishopric, distinct from the neighbouring and almost adjacent one of Ostia, may easily be accounted for by its importance and peculiar character, as being, since Trajan's time at least, the real harbour of Rome, and the place of abode for all the foreigners whom commerce and trade brought across the sea to the banks of the Tiber. All foreign forms of worship seem to have been established at Portus: for it can scarcely be accidental, that there should have been found amongst its ruins a pompous inscription of the time of Alexander Severus, purporting to belong to a monument erected by a sacristan (*νεωκόπος, ædituus*) of the temple of Serapis at Portus. This inscription has been published by Spon. (See Fabr. i. 47.)

But there are, certainly, circumstances which we must regard as a poetical amplification of popular tales. As mythical we must consider the very rhetorical and far-fetched story, that the wicked prefect, hearing his name was Hippolytus, ordered him to be torn in pieces by horses, as Hippolytus was of old; which does not prevent the cruel heathens around from stabbing him into the bargain. Still such was the accredited legend even in the time of Theodosius. Prudentius found it painted on the wall of the sanctuary of Hippolytus, by the side of the basilica of St. Laurentius. Indeed it is quite clear that his rhetorical account is taken from this remarkable picture, which at all events repre-

sented the saint's body as carried away by furious horses, and the remains collected by the faithful. (123—174.)

Exemplar sceleris paries habet illitus, in quo
 Multicolor fucus digerit omne nefas.
 Picta super tumulum species liquidis viget umbris,
 Effigians tracti membra cruenta viri.
 Rorantes saxorum apices vidi, optime Papa,
 Purpureasque notas vepribus impositas.
 Docta manus virides imitando effingere dumos
 Luserat e minio russeolam saniem. 130
 Cernere erat, ruptis compagibus ordine nullo
 Membra per incertos sparsa jacere situs.
 Addiderat caros, gressu lacrymisque sequentes,
 Devia qua fractum semita monstrat iter.
 Mœrore attoniti, atque oculis rimantibus ibant:
 Implebantque sinus visceribus laceris.
 Ille caput niveum complectitur, ac reverendam
 Canitiem molli confovet in gremio.
 Hic humeros, truncasque manus, et brachia, et ulnas,
 Et genua, et crurum fragmina nuda legit. 140
 Palliolis etiam bibulæ siccantur arenæ,
 Ne quis in infecto pulvere ros maneat.
 Si quis et in sudibus recalenti aspergine sanguis
 Insidet, hunc omnem spongia pressa rapit.
 Nec jam densa sacro quidquam de corpore silva
 Obtinet, aut plenis fraudat ab exsequiis.
 Cumque recensitis constaret partibus ille
 Corporis integri qui fuerat numerus:
 Nec purgata aliquid deberent avia toto
 Ex homine, extersis frondibus et scopulis: 150
 Metando eligitur tumulo locus: Ostia linquunt:
 Roma placet, sanctos quæ teneat cineres.
 Haud procul extremo culta ad pomœria vallo
 Mersa latebrosis crypta patet foveis.
 Hujus in occultum gradibus via prona reflexis
 Ire per anfractus luce latente docet.

Primas namque fores summo tenus intrat hiatu,
 Illustratque dies limina vestibuli.
 Inde ubi progressu facili nigrescere visa est
 Nox obscura, loci per specus ambiguum ; 160
 Occurrunt cæsis immissa foramina tectis,
 Quæ jacent claros antra super radios.
 Quamlibet ancipites texant hinc inde recessus
 Arta sub umbrosis atria porticibus :
 Attamen excisi subter cava viscera montis
 Crebra terebrato fornice lux penetrat.
 Sic datur absentis per subterranea solis
 Cernere fulgorem, luminibusque frui.
 Talibus Hippolyti corpus mandatur opertis,
 Propter ubi apposita est ara dicata Deo. 170
 Illa sacramenti donatrix mensa, eademque
 Custos fida sui martyris apposita,
 Servat ad æterni spem Judicis ossa sepulcro ;
 Pascit item sanctis Tibricolas dapibus.

Besides that picture, Prudentius found a tradition, according to which the venerable martyr had at one time followed a doctrine disapproved by the bishop of Rome, but died professing the Catholic truth and his attachment to the Cathedra Petri. This account must have been true, so far at least as the first part is concerned ; but it certainly is inaccurate. The indication of the time is not correct, although it points clearly enough to the historical truth. The poet says :

Invenio Hippolytum, qui quondam schisma Novati
 Presbyter attigerat, nostra sequenda negans.

Now Hippolytus is never brought in contact with Novatianism ; and even when he wrote that book,

in which he refers to many other preceding works, Novatus was not above the horizon. Hippolytus' historical horizon closes with the Callistian branch of Noetianism. Novatus' heresy cannot be placed earlier than 245; the year which Epiphanius, in a very loose manner, gives as that of Noetus and Noetianism, directly against all historical evidence. But Novatianism, which followed upon Noetianism, had the same rigorous tendency (though more strongly brought out), which was advocated and urged against Noetianism by Hippolytus. In speaking somewhat inaccurately of Hippolytus' controversy with the bishop of Rome, one might designate him as a friend of Novatianism. Of course Callistus rose, with the reaction of the Church against this heresy; and blame remained attached to the previous opinions of the martyr. In the course of the fourth century, those petty school-quarrels lost their interest, and those unedifying family scandals were studiously covered with a veil. Who would speak, at Rome, of Callistians? and how few, out of Rome, knew that nickname? What is, therefore, more natural, than that Prudentius (or the popular tradition before him) should make the violent opposer of a bishop of Rome, who would not act upon the rigour lately exacted by Novatus, a cotemporary and friend of this heretic?

But if it is contrary to the rules of sound criticism to maintain the exact historical truth of such

details, in an account by a Spanish poet, like Prudentius, it would be still more uncritical to consider, for that reason, the whole account as mythical, in spite of such historical evidence in its favour. The story could never have originated, unless there was historical truth at the bottom: who otherwise, under Theodosius, would relate so disagreeable a fact? especially when recommending the saint (as Prudentius does) to the devotion and invocation of his orthodox diocesan, Valerian, bishop of Cæsaraugusta (Saragoza), a historical person, known to have sat in a Spanish council in 381? Besides we now know there was good reason for the Roman hierarchy to disavow the doctrines professed by Hippolytus in his dispute with the bishop of Rome, and at the same time to connect his heterodoxy with Novatianism, rather than with a system once patronized by two successive bishops.

Thus, by separating the two elements in Prudentius' account, we find every statement cleared up as to Hippolytus' country and station. As to the time of his martyrdom, the question is, whether and how we can reconcile the fact of his transportation to Sardinia at the very beginning of the reign of Maximin, with the account of his bloody martyrdom. Maximin seems to have intended to remove from Rome all the friends of Alexander, whose household consisted in great part of Christians.

This having been accomplished by the banishment of the bishop of Rome and of Hippolytus, it is not likely that he should afterwards have added the sentence of death to that of deportation. Besides, if there is any truth in the story which Prudentius, in the reign of Theodosius, found painted on the wall of the chapel erected over or by the side of the tomb of Hippolytus in the catacombs, Portus, not Sardinia, must have been the scene of his martyrdom. Now it is very difficult to believe, that this account is without any foundation, as the person and his place of abode are so entirely historical. But I do not see why Hippolytus may not have been permitted to return, after the death of Pontianus in September, 236, and then, continuing his zealous activity at Portus and at Rome, have been sentenced to death for new offences. In this way there is no contradiction between the two stories; and the origin of the representation on the wall of his chapel, at farthest about 150 years later, is accounted for. Nobody reports that Hippolytus suffered martyrdom under Decius (249—251), which in itself would be most improbable, as we have not the slightest trace of his having lived till that time. As to the story of the martyrs at the mouth of the Tiber under Claudius Gothicus (268—270), the date is as mythical, for a man who calls the end of the second century his own time, as the whole nature of those fabulous "Acts," which were published at

Rome towards the end of last century, in a work of which I shall soon have to speak.*

The next question is the date of the removal of the remains of Hippolytus to that ancient Christian cemetery, near the resting-place of the Western protomartyr, St. Laurence, where Prudentius saw his sanctuary. Now if that removal took place (as is very probable) in the time of Constantine, we may safely affirm that about the same period, certainly not much later, the statue was erected to him, which we now admire in the Vatican Library. It may be thus early: it cannot be later than the sixth century. This statue therefore is probably older than the famous bronze statue of St. Peter, in the basilica of St. Peter's at Rome, which at all events must be considered as an ideal statue. Thus, in the statue of Hippolytus, we have the most ancient Christian portrait of a historical person, a very respectable work of ancient art, and a venerable Christian monument, representing the most eminent writer of the Roman Church in his time. But it also preserves two valuable records of antiquity,—the Paschal Cycle, and a list of the martyr's writings, both engraved on the episcopal chair on which Hippolytus is seated.

As to the Paschal table, I must refer to Ideler's

* Ideler, Handbuch, ii. p. 214. no. 4. The title of the work is, "Acta Martyrum ad Ostia Tiberina sub Claudio Gothico, ex MS. codice regię bibliothecę Taurinensis." Romę, 1795, fol.

excellent and conclusive examination* for the proofs of its being a very imperfect contrivance. Although calculated for a period of 112 years (7 times 16), it is so faulty, that it must have been abandoned very soon. This imperfection is not surprising at Rome. At the time when the Greeks understood the art of making very accurate sundials, and even astronomical calculations, the Romans very confidently (and, I doubt not, very pompously) erected their trophy, the Syracusan dial, upon the Comitium, without the slightest notion that the united omnipotence of the senate and people of Rome could not make a dial transplanted to another meridian do its duty. If then, in the age of Alexander Severus, amidst the gradual decay of science and literature and art, which stares us in the face at every step in that period, Hippolytus tried courageously, but failed, we can only say that (in spite of his Greek ancestors, and his character as an apostle of the Gentiles), he was a true Roman.

So much for the Easter table of Hippolytus. But we have more to say about his writings. We have to examine the list on the monument, along with the catalogue which ancient writers give of his works, and with the quotations occurring in the "Catenæ Patrum" and similar Greek compilations. We have besides to inquire, how far we find in them the spirit

* Handbuch, ii. p. 222. sq.

and language of Hippolytus, the presbyter of the Roman Church, the bishop of the Roman harbour at Portus, the martyr under Maximin, and the writer of the work "On all the Heresies," now before us. In doing so, I hope I shall be able to vindicate the genuineness of some of the works of Hippolytus already known, as well as to give additional proofs of his having been the author of the book on the heresies. I hope also to gather some characteristic features for the picture of his character and of his age, which is to conclude my letter.

I shall divide the works of Hippolytus into four classes, — polemical, doctrinal, chronological, exegetical. My quotations will refer to the two folio volumes of Fabricius (Hamburg, 1716), the only edition of this neglected author to be had single. Gallandi's edition, in the second volume of his "Bibliotheca Patrum" (Venet. 1760, fol. tom. ii. p. xliv—xlix. and 411—530.), is a better arranged reprint of Fabricius' most clumsy and ill-digested book, and contains occasionally the correction of a misprint, and even one new fragment, but no collation of manuscripts, and no original criticism worth naming. It is, like the rest of the work, a compilation, in the conventional manner of the seventeenth century, — great in small things, tolerable in those points which are of some relative importance, perfectly insufficient, and often decidedly absurd in the most important. Since Gallandi,

nothing has been done for the text of Hippolytus as a whole. Interesting new materials, however, have been collected by the indefatigable Cardinal Angelo Mai, to whom the literary world owes a lasting gratitude. As these new fragments are dispersed in the volumes of the vast *Collectio Vaticana*, I shall treat of them in an Appendix. But I have here to mention some fragments contained in a book which I was unable to find in the British Museum, and the knowledge of which I owe, like that of so many other rare works, to your incomparable library, my dearest friend: I mean the "*Acta Martyrum sub Claudio Gothico*" (Rom. 1795, fol.).

The anonymous author (Episcopus Cyrenensis, a bishop in *partibus infidelium*, and, according to Mai, Monsignore de Magistris) takes these "*Acta Martyrum*," of course, to be genuine, although they had long been condemned by all critics of note; and consequently he assumes Hippolytus to have suffered martyrdom about 265 or 268. But this is the most venial of his fancies. He invents a whole life of St. Hippolytus, based upon conjectures which have not the slightest foundation, criticising Cave and even French writers all the time with considerable learning for their uncritical assertions and suppositions. But the most shameless part of this fiction is, that he regularly quotes parts of the text of Epiphanius, as the words of Hippolytus, assuming that he copied Hippolytus literally in his article on Marcion (Hær. xlii.), and

in all those about heresies on which Hippolytus had written or might have written. This book is a good specimen of that monstrous sort of lying literature, where truth is trodden under foot, in order to enthrone old fictions and impostures, aggravated and multiplied. It is in a laborious and learned manner, what those works on the life of St. Philumena are in an humbler way. In them, as you know, a life is constructed out of the inscriptions on three bricks, exhibiting her name, with the palm-twigg and the anchor, those well-known Christian symbols. Christian remains were found in my time in the catacombs at Rome, with a vial, containing what is called blood, but what in fact is the deposit of the wine used at the communion, in a *loculus* or excavation, the mouth of which was shut up by those three bricks. These remains having been said and attested to work miracles, books were written (I possess two) relating that Philumena, now the favourite female saint of the South of Europe, then the daughter of a king of Greece in the time of Maxentius, was taken prisoner with her father after his defeat by the Roman emperor near the shore of the Adriatic. Maxentius (the story goes on) proposed to marry her, being enraptured by her beauty, but, when she refused him, ordered her to be drowned with an anchor tied to her body. So much for the name and the anchor. The anchor having, of course, done its duty by swimming upon the surface of the sea

like a cork, the tyrant ordered the saint to be beheaded, which was done accordingly : thereupon her remains were deposited in the catacombs, after some drops of her blood had been preserved in the vial. Here you have the utmost made of three bricks and a vial.

This is a brutish kind of imposture, amid the noon-light of publicity in Europe : but have we not had just as impudent lies in France under Charles X. (remember the letter of the Virgin Mary to the French nation) ; and are we not sure of having others of the same sort before the end of 1852 ? Now the method of the anonymous bishop, the author of your book, is not substantially different, and indeed only an exaggeration of that employed in the great reactionary assault of false learning upon such truth as is thought dangerous. It is even more dishonest : for it induces the reader, for a while at least, to believe that there is some reason for what is assumed ; whereas there is none, no more than for the story concocted out of the three bricks.

I beg your pardon, my dear friend, for this digression ; but it is really time that we should guard against a new rococo edition of this hypocritical method of mixing up history and fable, issuing from Paris, in which the old fable reappears, seasoned with romantic poetry and some speculative phrases stolen from Görres, the father of these hybrid compositions which defy truth and confound the conscience. And where are the learned men among the

clergy of France, who can moderate and repress such attempts? Where is a Ruinart? Where is a Bos-suet? And Letronne is dead!

To return to the new materials which this bishop *in partibus infidelium* has brought together, he refers to his *schedæ* for more than he communicates; and much of that may be a mere fiction: but he gives (p. xlv. ex cod. MSS.) a different recension of the passage in the book on Antichrist respecting Dan. vii. 7. (the kingdom of iron), and a more complete Greek text of the commentary on the Psalms. I shall note in the proper places whatever I think worthy of remark in this folio of 500 pages.

A.

HIPPOLYTUS' POLEMICAL WORKS.

I. Κατὰ πασῶν αἱρέσεων ἑλεγχος.

Against all the Heresies; or, Refutation of all the Heresies.

Ten books: of which the first four give an outline of those speculative systems of the old philosophers, from which the heretics of the first and second centuries had mostly taken their speculative ideas; principally, therefore, of the writings on physical philosophy, and whatever refers to cosmogonic constructions. Of these four books we already possessed the first among

Origen's works; and we find that a great part of the fourth, with the middle of which our manuscript begins, is extracted from Sextus Empiricus' work against the mathematical (or dogmatical) philosophers. Sextus Empiricus was an older cotemporary of Hippolytus, and wrote under Commodus. As he was a Gentile writer, Hippolytus took out what he could use, in order to give the Christian reader the requisite materials without the necessity of recurring to a heathen writer. The first book is not extracted from any work that we know. Diogenes of Laerte's book cannot have been published till after Hippolytus' death. At all events, the extracts which Hippolytus gives in the course of the later books, as well as in the first, from the works of the Greek philosophers, leave no doubt as to his having studied ancient philosophy at its sources. These first four books were probably distinguished afterwards from the rest as "The Philosophumena." In judging of the title of the whole work, we must not forget that *αἵρεσις* in good Greek is the proper term for a philosophical school. The tenth book perhaps contains, in the form of an epitome, the earlier, succinct treatise of Hippolytus on the same subject, to which he alludes in the first.

We have established that the book treats, as Photius says, of exactly thirty-two heresies; and we have also shown that the method of enumerating them was not so much simply chronological, as genealogical.

Having gone through all the details of each article, which have any bearing on this subject, I will now render the truth of my assertions evident by two tables. The first will exhibit a summary view of the series of heresies contained in the "Great Refutation," compared with that in the tenth book; the second table will show their genealogical and chronological order.

I.

COMPARATIVE TABLE OF THE THIRTY-TWO HERESIES
IN THE "REFUTATION," ACCORDING TO BOOKS V. TO
IX., WITH THOSE IN THE TENTH BOOK.

BOOKS V. to IX.	BOOK X.
A. <i>The Sects of the Ophites.</i>	
Book V.	
I. <i>Naassènes</i> (Ophites) calling themselves Gnostics : pp. 94—123.	I. <i>Naassènes</i> : p. 314. 1—15.
II. <i>Peratæ</i> (Eubœans? Transcendentals? or Hebrews— from Heber?): pp. 123—138.	II. <i>Peratæ</i> : pp. 315. 16—316. 48.
III. <i>Sethians</i> : pp. 138—147.	III. <i>Sethians</i> : pp. 316. 49—318. 20.
IV. <i>Justinians</i> (from Justinus the Gnostic): pp. 148—159.	
B. <i>Simon and Valentinus, and the dualistic Valentinians.</i>	
Book VI.	
V. <i>Simon</i> , the Gittean : pp. 161—176.	IV. <i>Simon</i> : pp. 318. 21—319. 50.
VI. <i>Valentinus</i> : pp. 177—198.	V. <i>Valentinus</i> and his school : pp. 319. 51—320. 73.

- VII. *Secundus*: p. 198. 8 lines,
Iren.
VIII. *Epiphanes*: pp. 198—199,
9 lines, Iren. Other Va-
lentinians, 8 lines, Iren.
IX. *Ptolemæus*: p. 199. 16 lines,
Iren.
X. *Marcus*: pp. 200—221.
Iren.
XI. *Colarbasus* (left out in our
text).
C. *Basilides and the Basilidian
Gnostics, Marcion and the
Marcionists, the Ebionites,
Theodotians, and Nicolaites.*

Book VII.

- XII. *Basilides*: pp. 225—244.
(His son *Isidorus*: p.
230.)
XIII. *Saturnilus*: pp. 244—
246, Iren.
XIV. *Marcion*, pp. 246—253.
XV. *Prepon*: p. 253.
XVI. *Carpocrates*: pp. 255—
256. Iren.
XVII. *Cerinthus*: pp. 256, 257,
Iren.
XVIII. *The Ebionites*: p. 257.
11 lines, Iren.
XIX. *Theodotus of Byzantium*:
pp. 257, 258.
XX. *Theodotus the Trapezite
and the Melchisede-
kites*: p. 258. 8 lines.
XXI. *Nicolaus and the Nico-
laitans*: p. 258. 8 lines,
Iren.
XXII. *Cerdo*: p. 259. 8 lines,
Iren.
XXIII. *Apelles*: pp. 259, 260.

VI. *Basilides*: pp. 320. 74—322.
33.

VII. *Justinus*: pp. 322. 34—324.
33.

D. *The Docetæ, Monoimus, the Montanists, and their co-temporaries.*

Book VIII.

- XXIV. *The Docetæ*: pp. 261—268.
 XXV. *Monoimus*: pp. 269—273.
 XXVI. *Tatian*: p. 273. 4 lines, Iren.
 XXVII. *Hermogenes*: pp. 273, 274.
 XXVIII. *The Quartodecimans*: pp. 274, 275. 15 lines.
 XXIX. *The Montanists*: pp. 275, 276. 27 lines.
 XXX. *The Encratites*: p. 276. Iren.

E. *The Noetians and Elchasaites: Appendix about the Jewish Sects.*

Book IX.

- XXXI. *The Noetians (Callistians)*: pp. 279—292.
 XXXII. *The Elchasaites*: pp. 292—296.

VIII. *The Docetæ*: pp. 324. 75—325. 11.

IX. *Monoimus*: pp. 325. 12—326. 38.

X. *Tatianus*: p. 326. 39—44.

XI. *Cerdo* } pp. 326. 45—

XII. *Marcion* } —327. 66.

XIII. *Apelles*: pp. 327, 67—81.

XIV. *Cerinthus*: pp. 327. 82—328. 96.

XV. *The Ebionites*: p. 328. 98—1.

XVI. *Theodotus of Byzantium*: p. 328. 2—13.

XVII. *The Melchisedekites*: pp. 328. 14—329. 18.

XVIII. *The Montanists (Phrygians)*: pp. 329. 19—33.

XIX. *The Noetians (Callistians)*: p. 329. 34—330. 60.

XX. *Hermogenes*: p. 330. 61—64.

XXI. *The Elchasaites*: pp. 330. 65—331. 78.

II.

GENEALOGICAL AND CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE OF THE THIRTY-TWO HERESIES.

I shall give the chronological and synchronistic dates according to my "Chronological Tables from St. Peter to Origen." I have divided these tables into

epochs according to the ages succeeding each other in the series of the seven generations of men, which occupy the time from St. Peter to the death of Origen : a period of 225 years (from Pentecost 29 of our era, to 254), which in fact represents seven ages, or seven generations of mankind. I have chosen this form of marking the epochs for two reasons. First, I believe that, by a universal law, all religions develop themselves primarily according to the succession of individual lives, both in the traditions respecting facts, and in the form of the ideas connected with them. In the second place, I find that, in the history of Christianity, this development by natural ages extends to seven generations, taking a generation, in the ordinary acceptation of the word, to denote a space of about the third part of a century. I consider this division therefore as the most natural, and the leading individualities of each age as the safest landmarks for the history of that first great period of our ecclesiastical history. Down to the death of Origen, there is a marked epoch in every generation. After that time an entirely new law of development begins, no longer according to the leading individualities, but according to that development, of which the elements are the masses, and the ages periods of national life.

The epochs or ages, according to my tables, are the following :—

<i>The first age.</i> (29 to 70: Nero.)	<i>The age of St. Peter and St. Paul,</i> 29 to 70; or from Peter and James to Peter and Paul: from the first Pentecost to the death of the two leading apostles (65), and the destruction of Jerusalem (70).
<i>The second age.</i> (71 to 100: Domitian.)	<i>The age of St. John and of Clemens,</i> from 71 to 100: the last apostle (†98) and the first historical bishop (Clemens, from 78 to 86, or to the 5th year of Domitian).
<i>The third age.</i> (101 to 127: Trajan and Hadrian.)	<i>The age of Ignatius and Basilides:</i> Ignatius under Trajan (†108): and the first apologists and Basilides under Hadrian. Growing consciousness of the Christian sacrifice as the act of redeemed humanity, and growing idea of episcopacy as the representation of the free individual conscience, by the side of the collective conscience of the elders and of that of the congregation.
<i>The fourth age.</i> (128 to 156: Hadrian and Antoninus Pius.)	<i>The age of Polycarp and Valentinus.</i> Settling of the Canon. Gnostic philosophy, and Christian literature. <i>Hyginus</i> (128—131) and <i>Pius</i> (132—149).
<i>The fifth age.</i> (157 to 187: the two Antonines and Commodus.)	<i>The age of Irenæus in the West, and of Theodotus and Pantænus in the East;</i> or the end of dualism, and the beginning of Catholic science. <i>Anicetus</i> (152—163), and <i>Soter</i> (164—187). Montanism begins 157.
<i>The sixth age.</i> (188 to 215: Commodus, Septimius Severus, and Caracalla.)	<i>The age of Clemens of Alexandria, and of Victor at Rome:</i> or triumph of Catholic science and the hierarchy. Hippolytus' earlier writings. <i>Victor</i> (188—199), and <i>Zephyrinus</i> (200—218).
<i>The seventh age.</i> (216 to 254: Alexander Severus and Maximin.)	<i>The age of Origen,</i> or last attempt to reconcile scriptural Catholic science and the ecclesiastical system. Hippolytus' later writings. <i>Callistus</i> (219—222), <i>Urbanus</i> (223—230), <i>Pontianus</i> (231—235), <i>Fabianus</i> (236—250) and <i>Cornelius</i> (251—253).

According to this frame the thirty-two heresies range thus in the history of the Church:—

236 ON THE "REFUTATION OF ALL HERESIES."

THE SECTS AND THEIR WORKS.	THEIR PLACE IN HISTORY.
<p>The Ophites. I.—IV. The Gospel of St. James—Psalms — <i>Προδουτειον</i> — Paraphrasis Seth — Baruch. Simon and his school (Menander). V. <i>Ἡ μεγάλη ἀπόφασις</i>.</p>	<p>Section I. <i>Gnostic Sects</i>. Origin in the Johannean age, before the Gospel of St. John was written, between 70 and 99.</p>
<p>Valentinus. VI. Extracts (from the <i>Sophia</i>?) <i>The School of Valentinus</i>, with the exception of Theodotus: or the dualistic Valentinians.</p>	<p>Simon belongs to the first age (27 to 65). Menander taught his doctrine at Antioch, in the second age. Valentinus taught towards the end of the third, Ignatian, and the first part of the fourth, his own age.</p>
<p>Secundus. VII. Epiphanes. VIII. } Ptolemæus. IX. } . . . Marcus. X. } Colarbasus. XI. }</p>	<p>Valentinians of the fifth or Irenæan age. (157—187.)</p>
<p><i>The Basilidian School</i>. Basilides. XII. Extracts. Isidorus, Basilides' son. XII. Saturnilus. XIII.</p>	<p>Basilides taught in the third, Ignatian age, about 120 or 130. Saturnilus, in the fourth, or Valentinian age.</p>
<p><i>The Marcionites</i>. Marcion. XIV. <i>Ἀντιπαράθεσις</i>. Prepon. XIV.</p>	<p>Marcion at Rome; fourth age, about 130 to 150. Prepon; fifth age, about 160.</p>
<p><i>The Sects which acknowledged one God and Creator of all, but maintained that Jesus had been a simple man</i>. The Carpocratians. XVI. } Cerinthus. XVII. } The Ebionites. XVIII. }</p>	<p>Section II. <i>Ebionitic and mixed Sects</i>. A. <i>Ebionitic Sects</i>. The second or Johannean age, as to the beginning of these sects.</p>

Theodotus and the Theodotians. XIX. XX.	B. <i>Mixed Sects of Gnostic and Ebionitic principles.</i>
<i>These Sects were influenced by Nicolaus, father of the Nicolaites.</i> XXI. Cerdo. XXII.	Theodotus of Byzantium, early in the fifth or Irenæan age.
Apelles. XXIII. Extracts.	Cerdo taught at Rome about 132 (fourth age), and had influence upon Marcion. Apelles, disciple of Marcion, fifth or Irenæan age.
The Docetæ. XXIV. Extracts.	The fifth, or Irenæan age.
Monoimus. XXV. Ep. ad Theophrast.	
Tatian. XXVI.	
Hermogenes. XXVII. Extracts.	
<i>Sects orthodox both as to God and to Christ, but with some error in other points.</i>	Section III. <i>Ecclesiastical Sects.</i>
The Quartodecimans. XXVIII.	
The Montanists. XXIX.	
The Encratites. XXX.	
The Noetians (Callistians). XXXI. Extracts.	
The Elchasaites. XXXII. Extracts.	

It results from this list, that the work proceeds on the whole chronologically; but that Hippolytus has combined this method with the genealogical. He gives first the Gnostic, and then the Ebionitic systems, which indeed is the only reasonable division of the old sects. The third section comprises the sects, orthodox both as to the Father and the Son.

In each of these sections the order is chronological. Thus Hippolytus takes first all the Ophitic sects, then Simonism, then Valentinus and all purely dualistic Valentinians. Having gone through all of them, he takes up Basilides, an author rather older than Valentinus, but whose disciples were much influenced by Valentinianism. After having treated of the Basilidians, he proceeds to Marcion, whose system partakes somewhat of both Valentinus and Basilides. One would have supposed that the article on Cerdo, who taught at Rome before Marcion, would have preceded, and that on Apelles, Marcion's disciple, would have immediately followed that on his master. Indeed, this is the arrangement chosen in the tenth book: its having been abandoned for that in our "Great Refutation," proves that the author must have had systematic reasons for the change. The article on Cerdo, according to the chronological principle, precedes that on Apelles: but both are discussed only after all the Ebionitic systems have been treated. This seems to me a ground to assume, that there was a mixture of Ebionitism in these two Marcionites, as one of whom Cerdo may be considered, on account of his connection with Marcion, the man of his age. This brings us to the twenty-third heresy.

From XXIV. to XXVII. we have sects which evidently were tainted with Valentinianism, but started from points different from Valentinus and from each other.

They seem to be in the right chronological order relatively to one another.

The third class of the sects which rose before Hippolytus's time, were three immediately preceding him. The Montanists are the second of the three: their beginning cannot be placed earlier than 157, nor later than 167: they belong, therefore, to the sixth or Victorian age; and we have no reason to doubt that the two others did so likewise.

Then came the sects of his time, that is to say, of the sixth and seventh ages, in their chronological order. For the Elchasaites appeared only (at least on the Roman horizon) after Callistus, as bishop, had established the school of Noetus as his own.

In these thirty-two articles we have extracts from fifteen works at least, of which seven have titles: all unknown. The tenth book is that earlier succinct treatise which is mentioned in the first book. It comprises twenty-one heresies: the beginning and end are the same as in our work.

Dr. Bernays, of the University of Bonn, the ornament of the philological school of Ritschl, at my desire, in a critical letter addressed to me, has treated this point, together with others, which his profound knowledge of Heraclitus and of the ancient writers, and his ingenious sagacity generally, have suggested to him. I am sure when you read it you will be delighted with the critical talent and judgment displayed in this *Epistola Critica*.

Before I proceed to the review of the other polemical writings of Hippolytus, let me recapitulate the titles of his own writings, to which he refers in the course of the "Refutation."

1. Other books (*ἑτεραι βίβλοι*) of a chronographic nature; for in them he had given the names of the seventy-two nations (*ἔθνη*): x. 30. p. 331.

2. *Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας*: x. 32. p. 334.

3. *Μικρὸς λαβύρινθος*.

I have treated of the last two in my preceding letters, and shall return to all three in this review of his works.

The result, then, of an impartial criticism of the works attributed to Hippolytus seems to be, that, with the exception of the apocryphal works, recognized as such by the fathers of historical criticism in the last centuries, all the others are of undoubted genuineness. They unite external and internal evidence in a greater degree than most of the writings of the earlier fathers. The external evidence of the writers on ecclesiastical history is in many cases supported by a record engraved upon an official monument, representing Hippolytus seated as a bishop upon his cathedra. The internal is an unmistakable identity of style and of thought in all, and in many of them a striking reference to the age in which the author lived. Even the smaller fragments receive a new light and a fresh interest from the discovery of the "Great Refutation;" and this work again could

be proved to be by Hippolytus, from the many points of coincidence in its style and contents with his other writings and fragments, if it did not carry sufficient proofs of its authenticity in itself.

I shall take this opportunity of submitting to you a few observations on the idea of a new edition of the works of Hippolytus, which is now become indispensable.

The edition of Fabricius, reproduced with slight variations by Gallandi, is not only incomplete, but ill digested and scarce. The text of the "Refutation" is scarcely readable, and, in all respects, in its first childhood. Until corrected by an able scholar of the critical school, the fragments contained in it will be unintelligible for the greater part, as were those restored by Schneidewin and Boeckh. I have before me emendations by Dr. Bernays, which prove to me not only that they can be restored, but that there are other ancient fragments not found out by the editor.

The edition which ought now to be prepared should consist of two volumes. The first would contain the text of the "Refutation," established upon a collation of the Paris manuscript; the second would unite all the other works, with the spurious ones as an appendix.

The materials for this second volume are principally in the noble libraries of Paris, Rome, and Turin. We owe to the learned editor of the "Refu-

tation," M. E. Miller, the long wished for "Catalogue of the Escorial Manuscripts;" I am afraid that they will not help us much.*

Let us hope, my dear friend, that the generosity and zeal of the Clarendon Press will not allow this opportunity to pass for superseding the edition of 1851 by a more complete one next year.

I have established above, upon the evidence of Photius, and of Hippolytus himself, that the au-

* The "Catalogue des Manuscrits Grecs de la Bibliothèque de l'Escorial, par E. Miller" (Par. 1848, 8vo), contains the following indications respecting Hippolytus :—

- P. 315. Cod. 169. : Hippolyte sur la fin du monde.
- 466. Cod. 511. fol. 145–158. : Hippolyte *περὶ τῆς συντελείας τοῦ κόσμου*, publié par Fabricius.
- 474. Cod. 524. fol. 85–89. : Homélie sur la fin du monde et sur l'Antichriste, par St. Hippolyte.
- 523. Marcellini vel Hippolyti sive potius incerti Epitome temporum ab orbe condito usque ad annum vicissimum Heraclii imperatoris cum consulatibus et indictionibus et aliis cognitione dignis.
- 361. Cod. 445. : Extrait de la Chronique d'Hippolyte sur la Vierge Marie. [See p. 495. cod. 570.]
- 404. Cod. 504. No. 7. : Extrait théologique tiré des Pères tel que Diodore, Hippolyte, Severin, etc.
- 491. Cod. 564. fol. 90, 91. : Extrait de la Chronique de St. Hippolyte incip. *ἰάκωβος ὁ γενόμενος*.
- 492. Cod. 564. fol. 206–215. : Extrait de la Chronique de St. Hippolyte le Thébain sur les disciples du Seigneur.
- 495. Cod. 570. fol. 127–132. : Extrait de la Chronique de St. Hippolyte sur la Vierge. Fabric. B. G. vii. 187.
- 513. Titulus catenæ in Proverbia Salomonis, Proverbiorum liber et in eum catenæ sanctorum patrum Basilii, Hippolyti papæ Romani, Origenis, etc.

thor of the treatise on the "Cause of the Universe" is also the author of the book called "The Little Labyrinth." I shall now proceed to a more accurate examination of this book, of which we have important fragments.

II. Ὁ μικρὸς Λαβύρινθος· or, Κατὰ τῆς Ἀρτέμωνος αἱρέσεως λόγος.

The Little Labyrinth; or, Treatise against the Heresy of Artemo.

The second title is given by Photius (c. 48.), who believes Caius the presbyter to be the author, and evidently takes it to be a different work from the "Little Labyrinth." But, as the subject of the "Little Labyrinth" is stated by all the authors to be the refutation of this very sect, and since Eusebius (H. E. v. 28.) quotes passages from it as against that heresy, it is clear that both are titles of one and the same work. Eusebius evidently did not know the author. The book appeared at first anonymously, as it would seem; for it was expressly recognized in the "Treatise on the Cause of the Universe." The doubts respecting the author of this treatise, and the obscurity in which Hippolytus' life and writings were purposely involved, explain the confusion.

Routh (Reliq. Sacr. ii. 129—134. 141—157.) has, with his usual judgment and learning, illustrated the three fragments which Eusebius has given us, and

is evidently inclined to pronounce it a work of Hippolytus. Those fragments concern the heresy of the school of the first and second Theodotus at Rome. As writers of that sect, besides the elder and younger Theodotus, they name Asclepiades, Hermophilus, and Apollonides. The name of Artemo does not occur in those fragments. It is true, Eusebius says, the book was written against the Artemonic heresy; but this does not prove that Artemo lived and taught at Rome in the time of Alexander Severus. In the first of these fragments Hippolytus treats of the assertion of the Theodotians, that Zephyrinus had adulterated the doctrine of the Church of Rome. To this he replies, first, that Scripture, the primitive Christian psalms and hymns, and the ecclesiastical writers, from Clemens the Roman to Irenæus, were witnesses against them: and secondly, that, if Victor, as they asserted, had maintained the true doctrine, he was the bishop who had excluded Theodotus, the father and chief of their sect, and that he had done so for his having taught that Christ was a simple man. He confirms this assertion in the second fragment, by the history of Natalius (probably the Cæcilius Natalis in the dialogue of Minucius Felix), "who became a public confessor of the truth (*ὁμολογήτης*) not long ago, indeed in our own time." Asclepiades and the second Theodotus, both disciples of the elder Theodotus, seduced him to become their bishop,

with a salary of 150 denarii (7*l.* 10*s.*) a month. Now what happened? Something, says the author, which might have made an impression even on Sodom and Gomorrah. Angels of the Lord came one night and beat him, rather unmercifully; which so affected him, that he ran in sackcloth and ashes to Zephyrinus, and on his knees besought, not only the bishop, but the clergy and laity, displaying the stripes of the lashes, to show him mercy and forgiveness. He was received with some difficulty into the Church.

In the third fragment the author says, these heretics were given to speculation, and studied geometry much, admiring Euclid, Aristotle, and Theophrastus, and almost worshipping Galen, who died only about the year 200; but made light of the Scriptures, declaring some of them to be spurious, and changing — or, as they said, correcting, — the text of others, but without the authority of ancient manuscripts: he adds, that some even rejected the Old Testament altogether.

This statement has been made by the Tübingen school the basis of what I must call a novel. The Church of Rome is said to have ignored the Gospel of St. John, and repudiated the doctrine of the Logos, till the end of Victor's episcopate (198 after Christ); an incredible assertion, which they endeavour to strengthen by the gratuitous, and utterly untenable proposition, or rather fiction, that the primitive

Roman congregation consisted almost exclusively of Jewish and Judaizing Christians.

Neander has refuted this assertion, and shown how little the fragments of the "Little Labyrinth" warrant the system built upon them. But he admits that there is something to be explained,—that some fact is referred to not known to us, and which must have happened under Zephyrinus. (Kircheng. i. 997.)

This is a bright example, how the finding out of what we do not know is the first step to the discovery of the truth.

The explanation of that unintelligible assertion is now before us: for we know the fact implied in the account.

Zephyrinus found in his Church, as the prevalent doctrinal tendency, that which we call Monarchianism. The distinction between the Father and the Son was very marked, the monotheistic principle being concentrated in the Father. The Eastern distinctions between the Word and the Son, and between Jesus and the Christ, were rather kept in the background as useless or dangerous. But, as Rome could not cease to be centre of the world, so it became that of Christendom. All new theories were sooner or later discussed there by their authors, or by a disciple; and generally they were repudiated and rejected, as soon as they seemed to endanger the general ecclesiastical system. It was therefore really an important change, when Zephyrinus inclined to the Noetian speculations,

which we know he did at the instigation of Callistus. We see also that the author of the "Labyrinth" does not contradict the assertion of the Theodotians. In this respect he turns the tables upon them, by asking how Victor could have favoured them, if he expelled Theodotus from the Roman congregation.

Thus the unknown fact implied in the accounts, and which Neander sought after, is given to us, and the whole most satisfactorily explained.

But, my dearest friend, may we not say also we have here another proof of the hollowness of the Tübingen novel? The formula of Callistus is sufficient to prove this. It is, as we have seen, essentially that of Noetus: and the system of Noetus presupposes the whole development of the struggle against Gnosticism, which began before the death of St. John, and was afterwards carried on by the Catholic Church under the banner of the doctrine of the Logos. All that there is of truth and reality in the account of the struggle between Judaizing Petrinism and rationalizing Paulinism, was well established by the great critical school, in which Schleiermacher and Neander, Nitzsch and Rothe, are so eminent: what has been added by the new school has no truth in it. It runs against the first principles of historical criticism, both as to chronology and as to internal considerations.

As to the authorship of this remarkable work, it

is declared by the writer of the "Treatise on the Universe" to be his; and the author of our great work on the heresies says that he is the writer of the "Treatise on the Universe." This also settles the question respecting the relative dates of the "Little Labyrinth" and the "Great Refutation." The three works were written in the following succession:—

First, the "Little Labyrinth," to which the author of the "Cause of the Universe" refers:

Secondly, the treatise on the "Cause of the Universe," to which the author of the "Great Refutation" refers as his:

Thirdly, the "Great Refutation" itself, which we know to be the work of Hippolytus.

Now the writer of the "Little Labyrinth" speaks of the times of Zephyrinus as of his own, only just past. It must therefore have been written either under Callistus, or Urbanus, the bishop in the time of Alexander Severus. The first is evidently impossible, if one considers the author's position in regard to Callistus; nor would he have spoken of Zephyrinus as "not long ago." Everything, therefore, induces us to believe that the "Little Labyrinth" was written under Urbanus (223—230), and the "Cause of the Universe" soon afterwards. For the "Great Refutation" must have been composed under Alexander Severus, in whose last year (235) Hippolytus was banished. The title is strangely supposed to

refer to the entangling of the heretics by reasoning: it evidently alludes to their errors, which entangle the mind of the simple Christian, and out of which a sound refutation disentangles him. Thus our author says in the opening of the tenth book: "The labyrinth of the heresies has not been broken through by force, but opened solely by argumentation through the power of truth."*

III. Πρὸς Νοητόν.

Against Noetus.

The Greek text is printed, in the edition of Fabricius, t. ii. p. 5. sqq., from a Vatican manuscript (compare i. p. 233.). In this MS. the work bears the title (evidently framed by a copyist): 'Ομιλία 'Ιππολύτου εἰς τὴν αἵρεσιν Νοητοῦ τινός. And the Latin translation of Turrianus is inscribed: "Homilia de Deo trino et uno, et de mysterio incarnationis, contra hæresin Noeti." Both are evidently later designations. But the book is a homily, or a sermon, whether really preached, or written in that form. The conjecture of Fabricius, that it was a part of the lost work on the heresies, is now untenable. But I hope to show that the Confession of Faith contained

* Τὸν λαβύρινθον τῶν αἱρέσεων οὐ βίᾳ διαρρήξαντες, ἀλλὰ μόνῳ ἐλέγχῳ ἀληθείας δυνάμει διαλύσαντες.

in this treatise is so like the one with which our work concludes, that the juxtaposition of the two would by itself prove the identity of the author. I give this juxtaposition without any other comment. The parallelism of both is naturally limited to what I have called the first and second articles of Hippolytus' Confession; for the treatise against Noetus was particularly directed to the point of the Incarnation (the second article): and we must not forget that the conclusion of the book on all the heresies is principally intended to excite men to become godly and godlike.

The exposition of those two articles comprises half of the whole homily (ch. 9. to the end). It is impossible not to recognise in the preacher the same author who wrote our work. Of course the style is more rhetorical, the exposition broader, and the whole is directed against one point, the Noetian heresy; whereas the writer of our work had to compress his thoughts on the subject into as few words as possible, and had to direct his energy towards encouraging men to accept the divine wisdom and love offered to them in Christ, and to become like God, as Jesus had been.

There is even, if I am not mistaken, in a passage of our homily, a decided allusion to the injustice of Zephyrinus and Callistus, in having called him publicly a ditheist. Treating of the relation of the Logos to the Father, according to St. John's

first verse, the author says (ch. 14.): "If then the Word is with God, being God, why then (some one might say) dost thou speak of two Gods? As to myself, *I do not speak of two Gods*, but merely of One: only I establish two persons (πρόσωπα), and, as the third, the Incarnation (οἰκονομία), the grace of the Holy Spirit."

I will merely add that the very introduction of both the Confessions of Faith is strikingly alike:—

Against all the Heresies: beginning of book x.

Τὸν λαβύρινθον τῶν αἱρέσεων οὐ βίᾳ διαρρήξαντες ἀλλὰ μόνῳ ἐλέγχῳ, ἀληθείας δυνάμει διαλύσαντες, πρόσ-ιμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπόδειξιν· τότε γὰρ τῆς πλάνης ἔντεχρα σοφίσματα ἀσύστατα φανερωθήσεται ἐπεὶ ὁ τῆς ἀληθείας ὅρος ἐπιδειχθῇ, etc.

Against Noetus, l. 8.

Ἐπειδὴ οὖν ἤδη καὶ ὁ Νοη-τὸς ἀνατέτραπται, ἔλθωμεν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἀπόδειξιν, ἵνα συστήσωμεν τὴν ἀληθειάν.

I will now give the text, omitting what is not essential, and premising only, that I do not think there is more than one interpolation in the text of the treatise against Noetus. I mean the passage in chap. 14., where the introduction of the Holy Spirit not only disturbs the whole connection of ideas, but puts Hippolytus in opposition with himself, by making

him call the Holy Spirit the third person (πρόσωπον). I have therefore marked these words as spurious, by placing them between asterisks.

X. 32. Θεὸς εἷς ὁ πρῶτος καὶ μόνος καὶ ἀπάντων ποιητὴς καὶ κύριος, σύγχρονον ἔσχεν οὐδέν, οὐ χάος ἀπειρον, οὐχ ὕδωρ ἀμέτρητον ἢ γῆν στεβρὰν, οὐκ ἀέρα πύκνον, οὐ πῦρ θερμὸν, οὐ πνεῦμα λεπτὸν, οὐκ οὐρανοῦ μεγάλου κυανέαν μορφήν· ἀλλ' ἦν εἷς μόνος ἑαυτῷ, ὡς θελήσας ἐποίησε τὰ ὄντα οὐκ ὄντα πρότερον, πλήν ὅτε ἠθέλησε ποιεῖν ὡς ἔμπειρος ὢν τῶν ἐσομένων. . . .

33. Οὗτος οὖν μόνος καὶ κατὰ πάντων Θεός, Λόγον πρῶτον ἐννοηθεὶς ἀπογεννᾷ οὐ λόγον, ὡς φωνήν, ἀλλ' ἐνδιάθετον τοῦ παντὸς λογισμόν. Τοῦτον μόνον ἐξ ὄντων ἐγέννα· τὸ γὰρ ὃν αὐτὸς ὁ Πατὴρ ἦν, ἐξ οὗ τὸ γεννηθῆναι αἴτιον τοῖς γινομένοις. Λόγος ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ φέρων τὸ θέλειν τοῦ γεγεννηκότος, οὐκ ἀπειρος τῆς τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐννοίας· ἅμα γὰρ τῷ ἐκ τοῦ γεννήσαντος προελθεῖν, πρωτότοκος τούτου γενόμενος φωνή, (τ. φωνήν) *

(c. 9.) Εἷς Θεός, ὃν οὐκ ἄλλοθεν ἐπιγινώσκουμεν, ἀδελφοί, ἢ (ἐκ) τῶν ἁγίων γραφῶν

(c. 10.) Θεὸς μόνος ὑπάρχων καὶ μηδέν ἔχων ἑαυτῷ σύγχρονον, ἐβουλήθη κόσμον κτίσαι. Ὁ κόσμον ἐννοηθεὶς, θελήσας τε καὶ φθεγξάμενος ἐποίησεν, ᾧ παραντίκα παρέστη τὸ γενόμενον ὡς ἠθέλησεν. αὐταρκὲς οὖν ἡμῖν ἐστὶ μόνον εἰδέναι ὅτι σύγχρονον Θεοῦ οὐδὲν πλὴν αὐτὸς ἦν, αὐτὸς καὶ μόνος ὢν πολὺς ἦν, οὔτε γὰρ ἄλογος οὔτε ἄστροφος, οὔτε ἀδύνατος, οὔτε ἀβούλευτος ἦν, πάντα καὶ ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, αὐτὸς καὶ ἦν τὸ πᾶν. ὅτε ἠθέλησεν,

* I have corrected the passage thus: for φωνή and πρωτότοκος evidently belong together, as may be seen from the parallel

ἔχει ἐν ἑαυτῷ τὰς ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ ἐννοηθείσας ἰδέας, ὅθεν κελεύοντος Πατρὸς γίνεσθαι κόσμον τὸ κατὰ ἕν Λόγος ἀπετελεῖτο ἀρέσκων Θεῷ.

"Ὅσα ἠθέλησεν, ἐποίει ὁ Θεός.

Τούτου ὁ Λόγος μόνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ· διὸ καὶ Θεός, οὐσία ὑπάρχων Θεοῦ. Ὁ δὲ κόσμος ἐξ οὐδενός· διὸ οὐ Θεός· οὗτος ἐπιδέχεται καὶ λύσιν, ὅτε βούλεται ὁ κτίσας.

καθὼς ἠθέλησεν, ἔδειξε τὸν Λόγον αὐτοῦ καιροῖς ὠρισμένοις παρ' αὐτῷ, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν.

"Ὅτε μὲν θέλει ποιεῖ, ὅτε δὲ ἐνθυμεῖται τελεῖ, ὅτε δὲ φθέγγεται δεικνύει, ὅτε πλάσσει σοφίζεται. πάντα γὰρ τὰ γενόμενα διὰ λόγου καὶ σοφίας τεχνάζεται, λόγῳ μὲν κτίζων, σοφίᾳ δὲ κοσμών. Ἐποίησεν οὖν ὡς ἠθέλησεν, Θεὸς γὰρ ἦν . . .

Τῶν δὲ γινομένων ἀρχηγὸν καὶ σύμβουλον καὶ ἐργάτην ἐγέννηε Λόγον, ὃν Λόγον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ ἀόρατόν τε ὄντα τῷ κτιζομένῳ κόσμῳ ὁρατὸν ποιεῖ, προτέρα φωνὴν φθεγγόμενος, καὶ φῶς ἐκ φωτὸς γεννῶν, προῆκεν τῇ κτίσει Κύριον, τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν, αὐτῷ μόνῳ πρότερον ὁρατὸν ὑπάρχοντα τῷ δὲ γινομένῳ κόσμῳ ἀόρατον ὄντα, ὁρατὸν ποιεῖ, ὅπως διὰ τοῦ φανῆναι ἰδὼν ὁ κόσμος σωθῆναι δυνήθῃ (11.) καὶ οὕτως παρίστατο αὐτῷ ἕτερος. Ἐτερον δὲ λέγων οὐ δύο Θεοὺς

passage in the book against Noetus (chap. x.), προτέρα φωνὴν φθεγγόμενος; and from another passage in our own treatise (x. 33. p. 336.), ὁ Λόγος ὁ Θεοῦ ὁ πρωτόγονος πατὴρ παῖς, ἡ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου φωσφόρος φωνή:

Νόμος ὠρίσθη διὰ δικαίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπάνωθεν. Ἐγγιον ἡμῶν διὰ τοῦ προειρημένου Μωϋσέως, ἀνδρὸς εὐλαβοῦς καὶ θεοφιλοῦς, νόμος ὠρίζετο πλήρης σεμνότητος καὶ δικαιοσύνης. Τὰ δὴ πάντα διοικεῖ ὁ Λόγος ὁ Θεοῦ, ὁ πρωτόγονος Πατὴρ παῖς, ἡ πρὸ ἑωσφόρου φωσφόρος φωνή. Ἐπειτα δίκαιοι ἄνδρες γεγένηται φίλοι Θεοῦ· οὗτοι προφῆται κέκληνται διὰ τὸ προφαίνειν τὰ μέλλοντα.

λέγω, ἀλλ' ὡς φῶς ἐκ φωτός, ἢ ὡς ὕδωρ ἐκ πηγῆς, ἢ ὡς ἀκτῖνα ἀπὸ ἡλίου. Δύναμις γὰρ μία ἡ ἐκ τοῦ παντός, τὸ δὲ πᾶν Πατὴρ, ἐξ οὗ δύναμις Λόγος. οὗτος δὲ Νοῦς, ὃς προέξας ἐν κόσμῳ ἐδείκνυτο παῖς Θεοῦ. Πάντα τοίνυν δι' αὐτοῦ, αὐτὸς δὲ μόνος ἐκ Πατρὸς.

Οὗτος δὲ ἔδωκεν νόμον καὶ προφῆτας, καὶ δούς διὰ πνεύματος ἁγίου ἠνάγκασεν τούτους φθέγξασθαι, ὅπως τῆς πατρῷας δυνάμεως τὴν ἀποπνοίαν λαβόντες τὴν βουλήν καὶ τὸ θέλημα τοῦ Πατρὸς καταγγείλωσιν.

(12.) Ἐν τούτοις τοίνυν πολιτευόμενος ὁ Λόγος ἐφθέγγετο περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, ἥδη γὰρ αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ κῆρυξ ἐγένετο, δεικνύων μέλλοντα Λόγον φαίνεσθαι ἐν ἀνθρώποις.

(14.) Εἰ δὲ οὖν ὁ Λόγος πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, Θεὸς ὢν, τί οὖν (φήσειεν ἄν τις) δύο λέγεις Θεοὺς (τ. οὖν φήσειεν ἄν τις δύο λέγεις Θεοὺς); δύο μὲν οὐκ ἐρῶ Θεοὺς ἀλλ' ἡ ἕνα, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, οἰκονομίαν δὲ τρίτην, τὴν χάριν τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος. Πατὴρ μὲν γὰρ εἷς, πρόσωπα δὲ δύο, ὅτι καὶ ὁ Υἱός· *τὸ δὲ τρίτον τὸ ἅγιον Πνεῦμα*.

Πατὴρ ἐντέλλεται, Λόγος ἀπο-
τελεῖ, Υἱὸς δὲ δείκνυται δι'
οὗ Πατὴρ πιστεύεται. Οἰκο-
νομίας συμφωνία συνάγεται
εἰς ἓνα Θεὸν, εἷς γὰρ ἐστὶν ὁ
Θεός. Ὁ γὰρ κελεύων Πατὴρ,
ὁ δὲ ὑπακούων Υἱός, τὸ δὲ
συνετίζον ἅγιον Πνεῦμα. Ὁ
ὢν Πατὴρ ἐπὶ πάντων, ὁ δὲ
Υἱὸς διὰ πάντων, τὸ δὲ ἅγιον
Πνεῦμα ἐν πᾶσιν. Ἄλλως τε
ἓνα Θεὸν νομίσαι μὴ δυνά-
μεθα, εἰ μὴ ὄντως Πατρὶ καὶ
Υἱῷ καὶ ἁγίῳ Πνεύματι πι-
στεύσωμεν. Ἰουδαῖοι μὲν γὰρ
ἐδόξασαν Πατέρα, ἀλλ' οὐκ
ἠνέχρισαν, Υἱὸν γὰρ οὐκ
ἐπέγνωσαν. Μαθηταὶ ἐπέγνω-
σαν Υἱὸν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν Πνεύ-
ματι ἁγίῳ, δι' ὃ καὶ ἡρνή-
σαντο.

He then quotes different
passages; amongst others
John xvi. 28:—

Λέγει γὰρ οὕτως· Ἐγὼ ἐκ
τοῦ Πατρὸς ἐξῆλθον, καὶ ἦκω.
Τί δέ ἐστιν τὸ ἐξῆλθον ἐκ τοῦ
Πατρὸς, ἀλλ' ἢ ὁ Λόγος; Τί
δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννηθῆναι, ἀλλ'
ἢ Πνεῦμα, τοιούτεστιν ὁ Λό-
γος;

Ὁ δὲ Λόγος ἐφθέγγετο, δι'
αὐτῶν τῶν λόγων (t. λέγων δι'
αὐτῶν) ἐπιστρέφων τὸν ἄνθρω-
(17.) Πιστεύσωμεν οὖν, μά-
κάριοι ἀδελφοί, κατὰ τὴν πα-
ράδοσιν τῶν Ἀποστόλων, ὅτι

πον ἐκ παρακοῆς, οὐ βίβ' ἀνάγκης δουλαγωγῶν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ ἔκουσίῳ, προαιρέσει καλῶν. Τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον ἐν ὑστέροις [καιροῖς] ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Πατὴρ οὐκέτι διὰ προφήτου λαλεῖν, οὐ σκοτεινῶς κηρυσσόμενον ὑπονοεῖσθαι θέλων, ἀλλ' αὐτοψεῖ φανερωθῆναι· τοῦτον τὸν Λόγον [ἀπέστειλεν] (τ. τοῦτον λέγων), ἵνα κόσμος ὁρῶν ἐνσωπηθῇ οὐκ ἐντελλόμενον διὰ προσώπου προφητῶν, οὐδὲ δι' ἀγγέλου φοβεῶντα ψυχὴν, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν παρόντα τὸν λελαληκότα.

Τοῦτον ἔγνωμεν ἐκ παρθένου σῶμα ἀνειληφότα καὶ τὸν παλαιὸν ἄνθρωπον διὰ καινῆς πλάσεως πεφορηκότα, ἐν βίῳ διὰ πάσης ἡλικίας ἐληλυθότα, ἵνα πάσῃ ἡλικίᾳ αὐτὸς νόμος γεννηθῇ καὶ σκοπὸν τὸν ἴδιον ἄνθρωπον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἐπιδείξῃ παρῶν*,

Θεὸς λόγος ἀπ' οὐρανῶν κατήλθεν εἰς τὴν ἀγίαν παρθένον Μαρίαν, ἵνα σάρκωθῃς ἐξ αὐτῆς, λαβὼν δὲ καὶ ψυχὴν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην, λογικὴν δὲ λέγω, γεγωνῶς πάντα ὅσα ἐστὶν ἄνθρωπος, ἐκτὸς ἁμαρτίας, σώσῃ τὸν πεπτωκότα, καὶ ἀφθαρσίαν ἀνθρώποις παράσχω τοῖς πιστεύουσιν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ. Ἐν πᾶσιν οὖν ἀποδείκνυται ἡμῖν τῆς ἀληθείας λόγος, ὅτι εἷς ἐστὶν ὁ Πατὴρ, οὗ πάρεστι Λόγος, δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα ἐποίησεν. ὃν ὑστέροις καιροῖς, καθὼς εἵπαμεν ἀνωτέρω, ἀπέστειλεν ὁ Πατὴρ πρὸς σωτηρίαν ἀνθρώπων. Οὗτος διὰ νόμου καὶ προφητῶν ἐκηρύχθη παρεσόμενος εἰς τὸν κόσμον Οὗτος προελθὼν εἰς κόσμον Θεὸς ἐν σώματι ἐφανερώθη, ἄνθρωπος τέλειος προελθὼν· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ φαντασίαν ἢ τροπὴν, ἀλλ' ἀλη-

* Our author has in these words imitated the beautiful passage in Irenæus, ii. 39. (ed. Potter, p. 161.): "Ideo per omnem venit ætatem, et infantibus infans factus, sanctificans infantes: in parvulis parvulus, sanctificans hanc ipsam habentes ætatem, simul et exemplum illis pietatis effectus, et justitiæ et subjectionis: in juvenibus juvenis, exemplum juvenibus fiens, et sanctificans Domino. Sic et senior in senioribus, ut sit perfectus magister in omnibus, non solum secundum expositionem

καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ ἐλέγξῃ ὅτι μὴδὲν
ἐποίησεν ὁ Θεὸς πονηρόν.

"Ἰνα δὲ μὴ ἕτερος παρ' ἡμᾶς
νομισθῇ, καὶ κάματον ὑπέμεινε,
καὶ πεινῇν ἠθέλησε, καὶ διψῇν
οὐκ ἠρνήσατο, καὶ ὑπνῷ ἠρέ-
μῃσιν, καὶ πάθει οὐκ ἀντείπε,
καὶ θανάτῳ ὑπήκουσε, καὶ ἀνά-
στασιν ἐφανέρωσεν, ἀπαρξά-
μενος ἐν πᾶσι τούτοις τὸν
ἴδιον ἄνθρωπον, ἵνα σὺ πά-
σχων μὴ ἀθυμῇς, ἀλλ' ἄν-
θρωπον σεαυτὸν ὁμολογῶν,
προσδοκᾷς (t. προσδοκῶν) καὶ
σὺ δ' αὐτῷ πατὴρ παρέσχεν
(t. αὐτῷ παρέσχες).

θῶς γενόμενος ἄνθρωπος.

(18.) Οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὰ ἀν-
θρώπινα ἑαυτοῦ οὐκ ἀπαναίνε-
ται ἐνδεικνύμενος Θεὸς ὢν, ὅτε
πεινᾷ καὶ κοπιᾷ, καὶ καμνῶν
διψᾷ, καὶ δειλιῶν φεύγει, καὶ
προσευχόμενος λυπεῖται, καὶ
ἐπὶ προσκεφάλαιον καθεύδει ὁ
ἄνθρωπος ἔχων τὴν φύσιν ὡς
Θεός, καὶ ποτηρίου πάθος παρ-
αιτεῖται ὁ διὰ τοῦτο παραγε-
γὼς ἐν κόσμῳ, καὶ ἀγωνιῶν
ἰδροῖς, καὶ ὑπ' ἀγγέλου ἐν-
δυναμοῦται ὁ ἐνδυναμῶν τοὺς
εἰς αὐτὸν πιστεύοντας καὶ θά-
νάτου καταφρονεῖν ἔργῳ δι-
δάξας· καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰούδα πα-
ραδίδοται ὁ γινώσκων τὸν
Ἰούδαν τίς ἐστίν· καὶ ἀτιμά-
ζεται ὑπὸ Καϊάφα, ὁ πρότερον
ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἱερατευόμενος ὡς
Θεός· καὶ ὑπὸ Ἡρώδου ἐξου-
θενεῖται ὁ μέλλων κρίναι πᾶ-
σαν τὴν γῆν, καὶ μαστιζέται
ὑπὸ Πιλάτου ὁ τὰς ἀσθενείας
ἡμῶν ἀναδεξάμενος· καὶ ὑπὸ
στρατιωτῶν παίζεται ὃ παρε-
στήκουσι χίλιαι χιλιάδες καὶ

veritatis, sed et secundum ætatem, sanctificans simul et seniores,
exemplum ipsis quoque fiens." But Hippolytus has kept clear
from the hasty conclusion at which Irenæus arrives, that Jesus
must have lived to his fiftieth year.

μυρία μυριάδες ἀγγέλων καὶ
 ἀρχαγγέλων· καὶ ὑπὸ Ἰου-
 δαίων ξύλῳ προσπήγνυται, ὁ
 πῆξας ὡς καμάραν τὸν οὐρα-
 νόν· καὶ πρὸς Πατέρα βοῶν
 παρατίθεται τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ ἀχώ-
 ριστος τοῦ Πατρός· καὶ κλί-
 νων κεφαλὴν ἐκπνεῖ ὁ εἶπας,
 ἐξουσίαν ἔχω θεῖναι τὴν ψυχὴν
 μου, καὶ ἐξουσίαν ἔχω πάλιν
 λαβεῖν αὐτήν. Ὅτι δὲ οὐκ
 ἐκυριεύετο ὑπὸ θανάτου, ὡς
 ζωῇ, εἶπεν· Ἐγὼ ἀπ' ἐμαυ-
 τοῦ τίθημι αὐτήν· καὶ πλεν-
 ρὰν λόγχῃ νύσσεται, ὁ τὴν
 ζωὴν πᾶσιν χαριζόμενος· καὶ
 σίνδονι ἐλισσόμενος ἐν μνη-
 μείῳ τίθεται ὁ τοὺς νεκροὺς
 ἐγείρων· καὶ τριήμερος ὑπὸ
 Πατρός ἀνίσταται, αὐτὸς ὢν
 ἡ ἀνάστασις καὶ ἡ ζωή.

This last antithesis of the evidence of the human and of the divine nature in Christ's life was manifestly a favourite theme with Hippolytus: for we shall find it in a third undoubtedly genuine writing of his.

Taking the whole together, I maintain that only one and the same author could, in two writings, having a different character and aim, express himself so similarly as to observe throughout the same succession of thoughts in the argument and the exposition.

This will become still more evident, if we consider the way in which the same subject is treated by Origen. The only writer who agrees with the view of Hippolytus on the relation of the Logos to the Son, and of both to the Father and to the Spirit, is Tertullian: but nobody could attribute our work, or that against Noetus, to him. As regards the countryman and cotemporary of Hippolytus, Caius the presbyter, we have no authority for ascribing to him either of these writings, or any doctrinal and speculative treatise whatever. His fragments indicate a mind more directed to philological and historical criticism: of polemical writings by him we know only one, that against the Montanists. Both Hippolytus and Caius being disciples of Irenæus, and both being members of the Church of Rome, it might be supposed that their theological systems would be much alike: but their tendencies and their points of view were evidently very different.

Origen and Hippolytus, on the other hand, have many points in common as doctrinal writers. They both had a decided speculative bent; both searched deeply in the Scriptures; and both had a fanciful turn in speculating, as well as in interpreting. Having said thus much, I will add, that there were no two writers more different, nor two systems more divergent, at that time, in the Catholic Church. But I must refrain here from entering into this dis-

cussion, because its proper place will come when we have finished our rapid critical review of the remaining writings and fragments of Hippolytus.

If any one wishes to see the philosophical arguments in the homily against Noetus fully and lucidly discussed, I would refer him to Dorner's article on the Noetian heresy, in his "History of the Doctrine respecting the Person of Christ," i. 532—536. Dorner is the only one of our critical school who has done justice to Hippolytus generally, and in particular to this homily, and to the book we shall next have to speak of. And I believe the greatest triumph of Dorner's criticism on the Noetian heresy and on our homily to be, that it has anticipated the clearer and more scientific exposition of the doctrines of Hippolytus, which has now come to light with our work. There is nothing essential to be added from this to the picture he has drawn from his incomplete materials.

As to the relative date of the two writings, I conceive that our work is decidedly a later, as well as a more solid, production. The object of the treatise is Noetus himself, which must at least mean the earliest form of Noetianism: the book against the heresies treats of the last stage of Noetianism under Callistus, as head of the school. I believe the reverse to be the case respecting the following polemical work.

IV. Κατὰ Βήρωνος καὶ ἡλικιωτῶν τινῶν* αἵρετικῶν
περὶ Θεολογίας (καὶ σαρκώσεως). (Fabric. i. 225.)

*Against Vero and some cotemporary Heretics
about Theology (and the Incarnation).*

I believe the original title to have been Λόγος Θεολογίας, or περὶ Θεολογίας: for thus it is quoted in the Lateran Council of 649. (Consultatio V^a. See Fabric. ii. 45.)

The external evidence for the genuineness of the eight extracts preserved to us is very great, that of Anastasius the Roman presbyter, a very learned man, who was himself present at the Lateran Council in 649. And I have no hesitation in adding, the internal is fully equal to it.† Sand having expressed his doubts about the authenticity, Bull defended it

* MS.: καὶ Ἑλικὸς τῶν αἰρ. Cod. Colbert.: καὶ Ἑλικιώνος τῶν αἰρ. Fabric.: καὶ ἡλικιωτῶν αἰρ. The passage, p. 225., Βήρων γάρ τις ἐναγχος μεθ' ἑτέρων τινῶν, τὴν Βαλεντίνου φαντασίαν ἀφέντες χεῖρονι κακῶς κατεπάρησαν λέγοντες . . . , is conclusive for the emendation. Comp. Bibl. Pat. Max. iii. 261. This work began with an allusion to the liturgical cherubic hymn: Ἄγιος, ἄγιος, ἄγιος, Κύριος Σαβαώθ ἀσιγήτῃ φωνῇ βοῶντα Σεραφίμ (t. τὰ Σερ.) τὸν Θεὸν δοξάζουσι.

† The only theological word for which I will not vouch, is the title given to the Virgin Mary (fr. viii.: Fabr. i. 230.), ἐκ τῆς παναγίας ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας, for the simple reason that I do not find it in any other passage of Hippolytus, nor in any genuine cotemporary writing; but such an insertion of "the full title" by the copyist proves nothing against the authenticity of the work.

with his usual learning: so did C. A. Salig.* In our times Haenell† has attacked the genuineness of these extracts of Anastasius with some ingenuity: but Dorner's refutation‡ is so complete, and the style of the philosophical passages is so like what we find in the newly discovered work, that it seems unnecessary to say a word here about it. In referring to Dorner's great work, I think it right to say, that, although it is his individual merit to have rescued Hippolytus from the neglect into which his writings had fallen, in consequence of the doubts spread respecting his person, the method of his admirable work must be considered as merely a fair specimen of the German school. I mean first his historical method, that of interpreting every passage in connection with the whole range of the author's ideas, and every writer as a portion of his age, to be understood from the language and ideas of his time. The isolated discussion of single passages is equally inadequate to give the reader a certainty as to their sense, or a clear image of the writer and of the age in which he lived and wrote. Dorner's book must also be considered as a specimen of the German method, in the speculative spirit which distinguishes it from similar inquiries in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Without being at home in the re-

* De Eutychanismo ante Eutychem. 1723.

† De Hippolyto Episcopo. 1828.

‡ p. 536—548.

gion of speculation, and conversant with the method of speculative philosophy, nobody can understand the metaphysical controversies of that time, or do justice to the writers of the first three centuries. Nay, nobody can understand the first three verses of St. John's Gospel, without being at home in those regions of thought, to which the questions respecting the Logos belong. I hope I may say so without any disrespect to that truly learned and acute divine, bishop Bull : but certainly he was no speculative philosopher ; nor is his method a truly historical one. He often makes assertions also which have no foundation ; as, for instance, that Hippolytus was a disciple of Clemens of Alexandria. Bull asserts, that all ancient authors say so, whereas nobody says so. Bossuet has praised and thanked him for his book : I do not think he would have done so, had bishop Bull adopted a truly historical and philosophical method. Referring therefore entirely to Dorner's representation of the real state and of all the depths of the controversy, I wish only to call your attention to a striking passage in the isolated fragment of the treatise against Vero, in the "Acts of the Lateran Council." It says, "God has the power of willing, not of not-willing : for that would belong to a changeable and a choosing being. It is God's eternal will that establishes what is called into being ; and the same will preserves what has been

called into being."* This is nothing but the ontological substruction of the theory about man's free will, which we meet with in the second article of our author's Confession of Faith.

You will also observe a striking internal analogy between the polemics of the treatise against the confusion (σύγκρισις) of substances, and the argument against Callistus' quasi-Patristicarianism.

Certainly the treatise in question seems to have been the most metaphysical production of Hippolytus, to judge from the extracts; I also believe it to be one of his latest. His expressions about Vero† show that he was a cotemporary: probably he lived under Alexander Severus; and his school only became known to Hippolytus after he had written his work against all the heresies. For there is not a word about this heresy in our book; yet, to judge from the author's constant practice, he would at least have referred to this treatise, if it had existed when he wrote his summary. Nor can I believe it to have formed part of our great work in

* Fabric. ii. 45.: Τὸ θελεῖν ἔχει ὁ θεός, οὐ τὸ μὴ θελεῖν. Τρεπτόν γάρ τοῦτο καὶ προαιρετόν· αὐδίψ γὰρ θελήματι θεοῦ ἔπεται τὰ γινόμενα ᾧ καὶ γενόμενα μένει σωζόμενα.

† Beron must, from the analogy of Balentinus, represent the Latin Vero, which we know as a name by a Christian inscription (Boldetti, Osserv. ii. 13. p. 487.), "Aurelius Berun." The writing Βαλεντίνος is that of the MS., not of Hippolytus. Thus, in our own MS., the Ebionites are called, in one passage, Ἐβωνῖται, in another Εὐβαιωνῖται.

its completeness: it is much too detailed for our composition.

V. Πρὸς Ἰουδαίους, or Ἀποδεικτικὴ πρὸς Ἰουδαίους.

Demonstrative Address to the Jews.

(Fabr. ii. p. 2—5. Cf. i. 218. sq.)

Our fragment of the Greek text of this work, from a Vatican manuscript communicated to Fabricius by Montfaucon, exhibits to us the fragment of a regular treatise, although in the form of a homily. This was probably the first work mentioned on the cathedra of Hippolytus, as we shall see presently. The author quotes (c. ix.) the Book of Wisdom (Σοφία) as a prophetic work of Solomon; which is a novelty, as the ancient fathers gave the name of Sophia to the Proverbs; and which proves that he had not the slightest notion of the characteristics of the style and ideas of Solomon's age. I cannot say much more for his Davidic interpretation of the 69th Psalm, of which Calvin had a very correct idea*, when he said, that it represented the lot of the just and the faithful.

The anonymous author of the "Acta Martyrum" gives, in appendix III. (pp. 449—488.), the text of an old Latin translation of a considerable part of the

* Hengstenberg's Psalmen, Ps. lxix.

fragment preserved to us in Greek. He had discovered it among the spurious works ascribed to Cyprian. The title is "*Demonstratio adversus Judæos.*" It begins exactly with the first words of our Greek fragment, which cannot have been the opening of the address, but was probably the beginning of the peroration. The Greek text forms the first two chapters of this very remarkable fragment. What follows (ch. 3—7. pp. 452. b.—458.) is far more interesting than the part preserved in the Greek text. The author no longer appeals to sacred texts of their prophets: he speaks to their hearts, he appeals to the Spirit in them. "The eye of the mind," he says, "is the Spirit; through Him things spiritual are seen: if, therefore, you are spiritual, you understand heavenly things. For like knows (understands) what is like to it." These words may be considered as the theme of the whole. Hence we see that we have not an attack upon the Jews in this treatise, but an address to them, an appeal to their conscience and intellect. The character of the treatise is that of an eloquent writer, who had studied Plato, and who had not only a deep Christian intelligence, but also a heart full of Christ, and of love to his brethren.

VI. Πρὸς Ἕλληνας λόγος, or Πρὸς Πλάτωνα : or
Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας (or οὐσίας), or Περὶ
τοῦ παντός.

*Address to the Hellenes, or to Plato : or On the
Cause (or substance) of the Universe, or On the
Universe.*

(Fabr. i. p. 220. sqq.)

On the title and the authorship of this treatise, mentioned also on the cathedra, I have said enough in my second letter. To me the most remarkable part of the concluding fragment preserved to us is the graphic description of Hades. Hippolytus had no more authority or materials for writing this as a piece of revelation or divine history than we have : as to materials he may perhaps have used the Apocalypse of Peter. But he evidently intends, in this piece of rhetorical description, to emulate the celebrated myth, which in the Gorgias we find placed in the mouth of Socrates, respecting the judgment and the state of the soul after death. Nor do I think, that it ever entered the mind of Hippolytus to attribute any authority to his rhapsody. But in process of time some of his phrases got into the liturgies of both Churches, and were then canonized by those who canonized liturgies and rubrics.* Hippolytus

* Take this instance : Μία εἰς τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον κάθοδος, οὗ τῇ
πύλῃ ἰφροσῶτα ἀρχάγγελον ἄμα στρατιᾷ ἐπιστεύκαμεν ἦν πύλην
διελθόντες οἱ καταγόμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπὶ τὰς ψυχὰς τεταγμένων ἀγγέλων.

dreamt of no such thing: for the Gentile tales he substituted a Christian tale, founded on some symbolical expressions in the parables and the Apocalypse, or on certain phrases in some apocryphal work, availing himself also judiciously of a beautiful line in Pindar or in Plato. Why should he not do so? Was it his fault that later dark ages misunderstood such innocent poetry?

Jerome quotes this work, as "Contra Gentes" (Ep. lxx. ad Magnum). Gallandi (in the Preface, t. ii. p. xlvi.) gives a fragment overlooked by Fabricius. It has been preserved by Philoponus (De Mundi Creat. iii. 16.). It is curious enough, as a new proof how much Hippolytus was bent upon physical philosophy.*

λων οὐ μὲν ὁδῷ πορεύονται· ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν δίκαιοι εἰς δεξιὰ φωταγογούμενοι καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἑφεστώτων κατὰ τόπον ἀγγέλων ὑμνούμενοι ἀγονταὶ εἰς χωρίον φωτεινόν. Then follows about the bosom of Abraham, &c. Compare with this the liturgical prayer in the Apostolic Constit. viii. 41.: Ἀγγέλους εὐγενεῖς παράστησον αὐτῷ καὶ κατὰ ταξὸν ἑαυτὸν ἐν τῷ κολπῷ τῶν πατριαρχῶν. Similar phrases are found very early in the formularies of the Greek and Western Churches. When shall we have a critical Codex Liturgicus?

* Τὸ οὖν, Γενηθίτω στερέωμα ἐν μέσῳ ὕδατος, οὐ μεταξὺ λέγει τοῦ κάτω ὕδατος τὴν τοῦ στερέωματος γενέσθαι φύσιν, ὡς Ἰώσηπος ὁ Ἑβραῖος ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ παντὸς αἰτίας συγγράμματι βούλεται· εἰς τρία, λέγων, διγρηῆσθαι τὸ ὕδωρ, καὶ τὸ μὲν τρίτον αὐτοῦ εἰς γένεσιν συμπαγῆναι τοῦ στερέωματος· τὸ δὲ τρίτον ἐναπομείναι κάτω· τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τρίτον ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις εἰς ὕψος συνανάκουφισθῆναι τῷ στερέωματι. Ἐν τοῖς νοτίοις means in the rainy austral regions. The text has: ἐν τοῖς νότοις, which is unintelligible. Gallandi of course takes care not to touch this nonsense at all. He

As this work is quoted in the treatise on the Heresies, so he quotes in it (p. 222.) earlier doctrinal works, where he had treated more accurately on the person of Christ.

The concluding doxology is simple and apostolic.*

VII. *Special polemical Writings against Heretics.*

In the introduction to the article against Marcus, Hippolytus refers to a book of his against the Sorcerers.† One might suppose at first sight, that the exposure of the scandalous juggling tricks which some heretics practised in the East, and even in the West, was contained in a special work. But he only alludes to the fourth book of our "Refutation." I will only say here, that those tricks certainly were not of Christian invention, but practised, not only by the Egyptians, but also by the Greeks. This is proved among other things by the remarkable treatise on Pneumatics by Hero of Alexandria‡, criti-

translates, "per rarefactionem una cum firmamento elevatum," instead of "in regionibus pluviosis in altitudinem firmamenti tollitur."

* . . . ὅσα ὁ Θεὸς ἐποίησε τοῖς ἀγαπῶσιν αὐτόν· αὐτῷ ἡ δόξα καὶ τὸ κράτος εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀμήν.

† iv. p. 200. 50.: Τὰ δὲ δυνάμενα τοῦτο παρασχεῖν φάρμακα ἐν τῇ κατὰ μάγων βίβλῳ προείπομεν ἐκθίμενοι. 201. 66.: Καὶ τούτου (Μάρκου) τὴν τέχνην ὁμοίως ἐν τῇ προειρημένῃ βίβλῳ ἐξεθέμεθα. Indeed we read the passage, iv. p. 66. 7. Compare 75. 49.

‡ The Pneumatics of Hero of Alexandria. Translated by

cally edited and strikingly illustrated this very year by Mr. Bennet Woodcroft, Professor of Machinery in the London University College. Some of the very ingenious mechanical tricks here explained refer to altars and temples, and can scarcely have been invented for private amusement.*

We have indeed the titles of other polemical writings of Hippolytus against heretical teachers and sects, but without quotations from them, and therefore are unable to say whether they formed part of the general work against the Heresies, now recovered, or were independent special treatises or homilies. At all events they prove that Hippolytus was considered as the great controversial writer and defender of the Catholic faith in the Western Church of his time. Thus Hippolytus *Πρὸς Νικολάους* (Fabric. i. p. 223.) is quoted, without any further indication of the contents. Our article on this sect is meagre enough to render it probable that its author wrote a fuller one on the subject: only he does not refer to it. This may be considered as an additional proof, that the article is amongst those of which we possess only an extract. Besides, I believe his special

Mr. J. G. Greenwood, and edited by Bennet Woodcroft, 1851. He places Hero about 150 B.C.: at all events he cannot be later than about a hundred years before our era.

* Thus: f. i. 11. Libations on an altar produced by fire; ii. 21. A sacrificial vessel, which flows only when money is introduced; ii. 17. Sounds produced on the opening of a temple door.

treatises were all directed against errors prevalent in his own time.

He might therefore easily write such a treatise against Marcion. Hippolytus *Πρὸς Μαρκίωνα* is cited by Jerome and by Nicephorus (Fabric. i. p. 222.). The latter calls it a controversial writing (*ἀντιρρητικὸν πρὸς Μαρκίωνα*). As he does not notice that "On Good, and the Origin of Evil," mentioned on the cathedra, this may perhaps be the same. Syn-cellus says, Hippolytus wrote against Marcion and the other heretics, which also seems to point to a particular treatise.

In Hebed Jesu's catalogue of Chaldee divinity books (Fabr. i. p. 222.), a treatise of Hippolytus *against Caius* is mentioned. I adopt the conjecture of Fabricius, that this must have been a writing against the *Caianites* (*Καϊανῶν*), whom Hippolytus mentions at the close of his ninth book.*

B.

DOCTRINAL WRITINGS.

Under this head I range such theological works as have no polemical titles, or contain, so far as our fragments go, no controversial reasoning.

* *Καινῶν*, in the passage referred to, instead of *Καϊανῶν*, is one of the innumerable miswritings in the MS.

I. Περὶ Ἀντιχρίστου.

Against Antichrist.

The existence of such a treatise by Hippolytus was known from the ancient authors, who give us a list of his works,—especially from Jerome. But a work in the form of a homily, published in 1556 by a Parisian canon, Johannes Picus, in Greek and Latin, proved soon to be one of the many forgeries which owe their origin to the fourth or fifth century; and, with the exception of Baronius, no man of note was taken in by it.* The genuine work of Hippolytus was first edited in the year 1661, from two French manuscripts, by Marquard Gudius, a young divine of Holstein. Combesius in 1672 added a Latin translation (Fabr. i. p. 4. sqq.). It is addressed to a friend and brother, Theophilus, and, bears the characteristics of Hippolytus' style †, but, compared with his other

* Fabric. Append. ad I. i. p. 2. sqq.

† Compare p. 4., Τοῦτο σοι ἐφόδιον ἐν τῇ νῦν βίῳ ἀκίνδυνον ἦτω, with the same expression in the Proem. adv. Hær.; p. 5.: Πρόκειται τῇ μὲν λέγοντι τὸ ἀκίνδυνον ἐξεπεῖν, with Adv. Hær. ix. p. 288. 82.; ib.: Ὁ τοῦ Θεοῦ παῖς instead of υἱός, of Christ, in the 10th book, and elsewhere in other writings of Hippolytus. The exclamation μὴ πλανῶ, ix. p. 336. 18., occurs p. 5. The expression τὰ τοῦ λόγου μυστήρια, and the Doxology, are found in the concluding fragment of the "Epistle to Dionetius," which I have claimed for Hippolytus.

writings, would seem to show a more youthful and timid mind. Still he refers in this treatise to what he had said before in other writings respecting the person of Christ. This composition is of no more value as interpretation, than any of its successors in the apocalyptic way down to our days. His calculations, based upon Daniel and the Apocalypse, are quite as absurd as those which we have been doomed to see printed (and praised and believed) in our days. He makes out that Antichrist will come 500 years after Christ, from the tribe of Dan, and rebuild the Jewish temple at Jerusalem. He quotes some apocryphal works, besides the canonical writings, and, above all, the Apocalypse, which, on this occasion, he expressly declares to be by St. John. But, with all these faults, there are some luminous thoughts in the book. What an intelligence is there in his interpretation of the woman in the Apocalypse with the twelve stars, standing upon the moon (chap. xii. 1. sqq.), compared with that given by the medieval fathers, who see in her the Virgin Mary! and what deep theology, compared with the commentators of the old Protestant school! Hippolytus says (p. 30.): "The woman is the Church; the twelve stars are the Twelve Apostles, her founders; and the child she brings forth is Christ, whom she continually gives birth to." It is remarkable, that this last idea is expressed in almost the same

words, only more concisely, in the fragment which I believe to be the conclusion of our work.*

Some writers have conceived, that Hippolytus alludes, in his interpretations of the ten horns of the fourth beast in Daniel, to some great convulsion of the empire in his time; but this opinion seems to me entirely unfounded. All I can find in those passages, as indicative of the time in which they were written (§ 28, 29.), is the existence of a very strong, iron, military government; and this seems to point to the time when the power of Septimius Severus was firmly established, after fierce contests and sanguinary battles. The rest relates to things to come, to the last age of the world, which he thought about three centuries distant.

As we possess this treatise complete, we may assert positively that Hippolytus has not pointed by a single word in it to the time when he wrote it. Thus much only may be conjectured, that it must have been written after the tenth year of Septimius Severus. This was the year in which, according to the interpretation of Judas, the world was to perish; and we learn from Eusebius (Hist. Eccl. vi. 7.) that

* 'Εν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα κράζει, . . . ὅτι οὐ παύσεται ἡ ἐκκλησία γεννῶσα ἐκ καρδίας τὸν Λόγον, τὸν ἐν κόσμῳ ὑπ' ἀπίστων διωκόμενον 'Επουράνιός ἐστι βασιλεὺς καὶ οὐκ ἐπίγειος ὁ δὲ αὐτῆς αἰὶ γεννώμενος. The words in the fragment, printed as the conclusion of the "Epistle to Diognetus," are: ' πάντοτε νέος ἐν ἀγίων καρδίαις γεννώμενος.

Judas' prophecy spread a great terror among the Christians, their minds being powerfully seized by the foreboding of imminent persecutions. Now this fright must have ceased when Hippolytus wrote; for there is not an allusion to it from beginning to end.

II. Περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικῇ παράδοσις.

The Apostolic Tradition respecting the Gifts of the Holy Spirit (on the cathedra).

I hope to prove in another place that this book is not entirely lost, but preserved in two corrupted extracts; in some Ethiopic Canons, and in the older text of a part of the eighth book of the Apostolical Constitutions. The saying of Jerome (Ep. 28. ad Lucin. Fabr. i. p. 259.), that Hippolytus had written on the questions whether Christians ought to fast on the Sabbath, and communicate every day, refers to this book of his.

III. Περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως.

On God, and on the Resurrection of the Flesh.

The title of a lost doctrinal work, named on the cathedra.

IV. Περὶ τἀγαθοῦ καὶ πόθεν τὸ κακόν.

On Good and the Origin of Evil.

Likewise on the cathedra: perhaps a work against Marcion.

V. Προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Σεβηρεῖαν.

Hortatory Sermon to Severina.

Likewise on the cathedra. This is undoubtedly the letter which, Theodoret says, Hippolytus addressed to a certain princess (Βασιλίδα). This is not an expression for the empress (Sebaste); nor is Severina the name of an empress of his time: she was most probably, therefore, a daughter of Alexander Severus.

Of this epistle Theodoret has preserved two fragments (Fabr. i. p. 92*), both on Christ's resurrection, as a commentary upon 1 Cor. xv. 20. 23. The phraseology is strikingly analogous to a passage in the "Confession of Faith."*

VI. *Doctrinal festal Homilies.*

To the same class of purely doctrinal works seem also to belong the *festal sermons* quoted by different authors, such as

1. Λόγος εἰς τὰ ἅγια Θεοφάνεια, Α (baptismal) *Sermon on Epiphany.* (Fabr. i. p. 261.). The text was given by Fabricius from a MS. in the library of Thomas Gale, sent to him from England. Many

* Ὡς ἐκ τοῦ αὐτοῦ φυράματος σάρκα λαβὼν: compare with x. 338. 78., Ἰσμεν τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς φυράματος γεγονότα. Again, ἀπαρχὴν ποιούμενος τῆς τῶν δικαίων σαρκός: compared with ἀπαρχάμενος ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς τὸν ἰδίον ἀνθρωπον (ib. i. 86.).

of its thoughts and expressions remind us of our work. Thus (c. vii. p. 263.), "The beloved generates love, and the immaterial light the inaccessible light," and "Christ has become manifest, his appearance was not a semblance" (*ἐπεφάνη, οὐκ ἐφάνη*). This phrase expresses most happily the controversy with the Gnostics. The startling, seemingly pantheistic expressions in the last article of Hippolytus' "Confession" have here their full match in the words (p. 264. c. viii.), "If, then, man has become immortal, he will also be God."* The saying (p. 264.), "that the Holy Spirit is the water which waters Paradise," reminds us of the mystic expression, in what, I believe, formed the conclusion of our work, the fragment commonly assigned to the "Epistle to Diognetus," where the heart of the faithful is taken as the field in which the two trees of Paradise grow.

2. A similar homily of Hippolytus on *Easter*, was known (*εἰς τὸ πάσχα ἐξήγησις*. Fabr. i. p. 281.). The "Acts of the Lateran Council of 640" quote a passage from it (Fabr. ii. p. 45.).

3. The same is probably the case with the Sermons on the Distribution of the Talents, and on the Two Thieves (Fabr. i. p. 281.).

4. Perhaps, also, the two beautiful anecdotes of the Corinthian Virgin, and of the youth Palladius,

* *Εἰ οὖν ἀθάνατος γέγονεν ὁ ἄνθρωπος, ἔσται καὶ Θεός.*

were related in one of these homilies (Fabr. i. p. 283. sq.).

C.

HISTORICAL WORKS.

I. Χρονικῶν (cathedra). *The (Book, or Books of the) Chronicles.*

About the same time with Julius Africanus, or twenty years later at the utmost, Hippolytus undertook a chronographic work. Eusebius mentions it. According to his rather confused account, it went down to the first year of Alexander Severus. Hippolytus refers to this work in the tenth book, on which occasion I spoke on its subject, as it is preserved in a Latin translation of the time of Charlemagne. (Fabr. i. 46—59.) Dodwell conjectures, that the Byzantine monk, Anianus (under Theodosius), had used Hippolytus' chronography for his chronology of the Roman bishops down to Pontianus, and that, Maximus the Confessor having copied him, Syncellus adopted this list. All this is mere conjecture, though Syncellus' chronology of the early Roman bishops certainly differs from that of Eusebius. I believe that a fresh and impartial examination of the unsettled question respect-

ing the history and the succession of the Roman bishops before Sylvester, and more particularly before Cornelius, will prove that the catalogue of the Roman bishops given by Hippolytus (which, as is credibly recorded, formed part of his "Chronicle,") made an epoch in this matter. The catalogue of Hippolytus must originally have ended with Callistus; for the end of Callistus coincides with the accession of Alexander Severus, with the first year of whom his list of emperors concluded. But it may in subsequent editions have been carried down to Pontianus, with whom Hippolytus was transported to Sardinia. Now it can scarcely be accidental that the most ancient list which has come down to us, of the year 354, the "*Catalogus Liberianus*," also called "*Bucherianus*," has an unmistakable line of demarcation at the beginning of Pontianus. The method adopted down to Urbanus, the predecessor of Pontianus, differs decidedly from that employed subsequently. My belief therefore is, that this first part is extracted from the work of Hippolytus. I have further proofs of this assertion in my possession; and I shall give account of them, whenever I publish my "*Restoration of the Succession of the Roman Bishops before the time of Cornelius*" (written in 1847): a question now of particular importance, in consequence of the abuse made by Schwegler, and others of the Tübingen school, of the present

uncertainty of some dates. It must be confessed, that, having been treated uncritically by Baronius, and not settled by Pagi, this question has been involved in confusion by Dodwell and Vignolles. I have endeavoured to establish a safer method of inquiry, with the help of new documents; and I hope that my investigation, as it has been impartial, has not been altogether unsuccessful: I am sure it entirely demolishes the fabulous chronology of Tübingen.*

But our Latin text seems to be only an abstract or an introduction. Hippolytus' original work must have been more like a chronological canon, with historical notes. We have a fragment of the Greek text of this nature (Fabr. App. p. 41.) quoted by Cedrenus, and relating that, under Nero, John the apostle was recalled from Patmos to Ephesus.

The "Chronicle" of Hippolytus became, like the Apostolic Tradition, a fruitful source of forgeries. To these belong: "The Holy Hippolytus on the Twelve Apostles," "On the Seventy Disciples, with their Names." (See, on both, Fabr. i. p. 50. sqq.) I regard the "Chronicle of Hippolytus the Theban," and that personage himself, as merely part of those forgeries. (Fabr. append. to vol. i. pp. 43—50.)

* Mommsen, in his excellent critical "Essay on the Chronography of the year 354" (1850), has perfectly established the truth of Ducange's conjecture, that this list of the Roman bishops is taken from the work of Hippolytus (pp. 594—598. 637—644.).

II. Ἀπόδειξις χρόνων τοῦ πάσχα κατὰ τὰ ἐν πίνακι.
*Demonstration of the Time of Easter according to
 the Table.*

This is the title of Hippolytus' book on the celebration of Easter mentioned on the cathedra.

D.

EXEGETICAL WORKS.

I. (Ὁμιλῖαι) Εἰς πάσας τὰς γραφάς.

On all the Holy Scriptures (Cathedra).

The stone-mason has engraved ῥδαί, songs, which is absurd, instead of an abbreviation of ὁμιλῖαι, for which word there is no place.

There are besides mentioned on the cathedra the following exegetical works, to which we shall have to refer in their proper places:—

(Διήγησις) Εἰς ψαλμούς: evidently commentaries on the Psalms; — (Εἰς τὴν) Ἐργαστρίμυθον: *On the Witch of Endor*; — and Ἐπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην Εὐαγγελίου καὶ Ἀποκαλύψεως: *On the Gospel according to John, and the Apocalypse*. This title seems to indicate, that the book was written as an explanation of the origin and date, perhaps in defence against an attack, or in rectification of a vulgar error.



II. *On the Historical Works of the Old Testament.*

As to the extent of the exegetical compositions of Hippolytus, the ancient authors declare, that Hippolytus wrote commentaries on most works of the Old, and on some of the New, Testament.

On the Hexaemeron, or the Six Days of the Creation.

Extracts in Jerome, Ep. cxxv. ad Damasum (Fabr. i. p. 266.); J. Damascen. Parall. opp. ii. 787. (Fabr. i. p. 7.).

On the Pentateuch. Extracts in Fabr. ii. p. 22. sqq.

On the Prophets; in particular on Ezekiel and Daniel.

On the Book of Samuel. Fragment *Εἰς τὸν Ἑλκάναν καὶ τὴν Ἀνναν* (Fabr. i. p. 267.). *Εἰς τὴν ἐγγαστρίμυθον* (Cathedra. Jerome: De Saule et Pytho-nissa. Fabric. l. l.).

On the Book of Kings; the history of Hezekiah's miracle, which he explains by imagining a parallel to the Amphitryonic night, — a day of thirty-two hours instead of twenty-four (Greek text. Fabr. ii. p. 31.).

III. *On the Psalms and the Songs of the Old Testament.*

The first work mentioned of this class is that on the Psalms. Nicephorus quotes the *διήγησις εἰς τοὺς ψαλμούς* (Fabr. i. p. 267.). He has preserved the beginning of the work. Theodoret quotes a passage from it (Fabr. i. p. 268.), graphically describing the

signs both of true humanity and of true divinity in the history of Christ's life, exactly like the passage (although differing in words) in the work against Noetus, on which I have commented above.

Here also we owe to the Roman prelate a considerable addition to the fragments printed by Fabricius and Gallandi. He has given in the appendix (II. 439—448) the complete text of the introduction to the commentary, of which we had only the first period. This text is found according to him in two manuscripts, one in the library of the Minerva at Rome (Casanatensis, O. I. a.), and the other the Vatican codex (1759). In the latter the text is mutilated at the beginning.

The fragment bears the title: 'Ἰππολύτου τοῦ Ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης Ὑπόθεσις διηγήσεως εἰς τοὺς Ψαλμούς. It is of great interest, for various reasons. First, for the knowledge of Hippolytus' real style. We discover here the clear and lucid method of discussion, and the easy exposition of the subject, which we generally find in Hippolytus, wherever the text is not corrupted. It treats on the authors of the Psalms, their relative age, and original division, the mode of performance, and the difference between Psalms and Songs, or Odes (ὧδαί). According to him the Psalter contains both Psalms, performed by the musical instrument (nabla, the psalterium) alone, and Odes, where the voice answered the instrument. Both kinds were mixed, so that we

have Psalms of Odes, and Odes of Psalms. This of course, is a mistake: but Hippolytus is right in distinguishing the two leading elements in the sacred lyrics; the Psalm, which is the Semitic element, advancing by hemistichs, of which the second is, as it were, the echo of the first; and the Hymn, or the Japhetic element, then existing only in the imperfect Greek form, as an Ode, but which a hundred years later developed itself into the Latin Hymn, through Ambrose, at Milan.

The most remarkable passage is the following; because it shows how far the fathers were from that superstition which seems to have crept into the minds even of some learned and eminent men in this country, who write on the Psalms as if it were part and parcel of orthodoxy to believe that all of them are by David, and that they were composed by him (or at the utmost by him and his friends) for the use of the congregation, as an official hymn-book; whereas such an opinion is nothing but a proof of ignorance, and, in divines, of a contempt for truth and learning.

The words are these:—After having said, that the Jews called the Psalter *Sephra Thelim* (*Sepher Tehillim*, the Book of Songs) without any name of an author, Hippolytus adds: "The reason thereof is this, that the compositions were not written by one; but Esdras collected those of several authors, as the traditions inform us, in the time after the Captivity

when he united the Psalms of different writers, or rather Songs in general (*λόγους*); for they are not all Psalms. In consequence, some of them have the name of David prefixed to them, some that of Solomon, others that of Asaph. There are also some by Jeduthun (*Ἰδιθούμ*), and besides some by the sons of Korah, also by Moses. Now the compositions of all these men collected together will not be called the Psalms of David alone by any one who understands the matter."

The text is very readable: in the first period some inaccuracies in our ordinary text are corrected.

His description of the *nabla* as having the sounding-brass above, is the source of St. Augustin's account (Winer, *R.L.* ii. 125.).

Connected with this commentary on the Psalms, was that on the Songs of the Old Testament. Nicephorus quotes the commentary upon the "*ᾠματα*," in the plural. Eusebius, in his list, mentions that on the Song of Solomon (of which we have a fragment, *Fabr.* i. p. 278.). This therefore was only a part. One of the other Canticles was the *μεγάλη ᾠδή*, which, our prelate justly observes (*Acta Mart.* p. 101.), cannot mean, as Fabricius supposes, the 119th Psalm, but is the proper term for the Song of Moses. The fragment quoted by Theodoret (*Fabr.* 269.) belongs therefore to this work, and not to that on the Psalms.

IV. *On the Proverbs and Ecclesiastes.*

On the Proverbs. (Fabr. i. p. 269., and Mai, *Collectio* Vatic. ii. 223., who gives the Greek text of a fragment known substantially in a Latin translation.) There is also a fragment of Hippolytus on Proverbs i. 9. in Fabr. i. p. 282., misplaced by the editor.

On Ecclesiastes. Fabr. i. p. 270.

V. *On the Prophets.*

On the Prophet Isaiah. Fabr. i. p. 271.

On the Prophet Ezekiel. Fabr. i. p. 271. (named by Syncellus, p. 358.)

On the Prophet Daniel. Fabr. i. p. 271. (named by Theodoret, and by Photius, c. 203.). Jerome says, Hippolytus' historical explanation of the seventy weeks did not tally with history and chronology. Fabr. i. p. 272. We have a genuine fragment of this explanation in Fabr. i. p. 278. on Daniel's Life and Time.

On the Prophet Zechariah. Fabr. i. p. 279.

VI. *On the New Testament.*

As to the New Testament, we have mention of a Commentary on St. Matthew, and on the Gospel and Apocalypse of St. John.*

* The Syriac MSS. discovered in the Libyan Desert and

No doubt, the greater number of the fragments of these exegetical works preserved to us are childish. What other word shall I use for such interpretations as that "Isaac bears the image of God the Father; Rebecca of the Holy Spirit; Esau of the devil; Jacob of the Church and of Christ?" That Jacob grew old, means the consummation of the world. Rebecca, that is to say, Patience, gave intelligence to Isaac of the brothers' dispositions. These are some specimens given by Jerome. But I do not believe that in these fragments we have a fair specimen of the value of the works as a whole. We see now, by the new fragments published in the "*Acta Martyrum*," that the quotations do not give the most sensible part, the historical illustrations, and the truly philosophical, though perhaps incorrectly expressed thoughts. Still even our old fragments, in explored by Cureton contain, as my excellent friend has kindly communicated to me, quotations (of slight importance) from the following works of Hippolytus :

- "Apostolical Collections."
- "Commentary on Daniel."
- "Commentary on the Psalms."
- "Sermon on the Resurrection."
- "Sermon on the Epiphany."

The only interesting article is the first. It may be the genuine text of what we knew only as a forgery, under the title of the "*Eighth Book of the Apostolic Constitutions*," and then perhaps only a part of the book mentioned on the cathedra, that is, the "*Apostolical Tradition on the Gifts of the Holy Spirit*."

the midst of fanciful allegories, show a deep mind and a free and honest inquirer.

I will here insert a restoration of the catalogue of Hippolytus' writings on his cathedra, to show that it is far from giving a complete list of them. I am enabled, through Dr. Brunn, of the Archeological Institute at Rome, to give the text more correctly than that printed by Gruter and Fabricius. The corners of the back of the cathedra are edged off, so as to form two planes of breadth sufficient for eighteen letters. The list is on one of these planes; and there never was an inscription on the other.

Πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους

περὶ τῆς κοσμογονίας

διήγησις εἰς ψαλμοῦς

εἰς τὴν ἐγγραφὴν τῶν

ὑπὲρ τοῦ κατὰ ἰω

άνην (sic)

ἐταγγελίου καὶ ἀπο

καλύψεως

περὶ χαρισμάτων

ἀποστολικῆς παραδό

σεως

χρονικῶν

ΠΡΟΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΑΣ
 ΚΑΙ ΠΡΟΣ ΠΑΤΩΝΑ (sic)
 Η ΚΑΙ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ

ΠΡΟΤΡΕΠΤΙΚΟΣ ΠΡΟΣ ΣΕ
 ΒΗΡΕΙΝΑΝ
 ΑΠΟΔΕΙΞΙΣ ΧΡΟΝΩΝ
 ΤΟΥ ΠΑΣΧΑ
 ΚΑΤΑ (τὰ) ΕΝ ΤΩ ΠΙΝΑΚΙ

ΩΔΑΙΗΣ (l. ὁμιλῶν εἰς) ΠΑΣΑΣ ΤΑΣ ΓΡΑ
 ΦΑΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΘΥ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΡΚΟΣ
 ΑΝΑΚΤΑΞΕΩΣ
 ΠΕΡΙ ΤΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΚΑΙ
 ΠΟΘΕΝ (τὸ) ΚΑΚΟΝ.

The work on the heresies, quoted by almost all the authors, is not in this list; nor are other works equally well attested. It may have been intended to give the titles of only some of Hippolytus' books. At all events, the particular reason is now no longer a mystery, why, in the time of Constantine or Theodosius, that work was not selected among those commemorated on the statue which was erected to St. Hippolytus in the Roman cemetery.

I will conclude this review of the works of Hippolytus with two tables of the lists exhibited by Eusebius, Jerome, and Nicephorus, comparing them first among themselves and then with that on the

II.

THE LIST ON THE CATHEDRA, COMPARED WITH THE
AUTHORS AND OUR FRAGMENTS.

Πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους.	Fragment.
Περὶ τῆς κοσμογονίας.	? In Hexaemeron. E. H. S. Fr.
Διήγησις εἰς Ψαλμοὺς.	Euseb. Hieron. Fragments.
Εἰς τὴν ἐγγαστρίμυθον.	Hieron. (De Saul et Pythonissa.)
Ἐπεὶ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγελίου καὶ ἀποκαλύψεως.	Hieron.
Περὶ χαρισμάτων ἀποστολικῆ παρά- δοσις.	Referred to by Jerome.
Χρονικῶν.	Euseb. Latin translation.
Πρὸς Ἑλλήνας, καὶ πρὸς Πλάτωνα ἢ καὶ περὶ τοῦ παντός.	Fragment.
Προτρεπτικὸς πρὸς Σεβηρείαν.	Fragments.
Ἀποδείξις χρόνων τοῦ Πάσχα.	Euseb. Hieron.
Ὁμιλίαι εἰς πάσας τὰς γράφας.	Syncel. Hieron.
Περὶ Θεοῦ καὶ σαρκὸς ἀναστάσεως.	
Περὶ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ καὶ ποθὲν τὸ κακόν.	(? Euseb. and Hieron. Adv. Mar- cionem.)

Having thus briefly laid before you all the materials necessary for judging of the authenticity of the traditions respecting the life, the age, and the writings of Hippolytus, I will endeavour to draw the outlines of a picture of his character and of that of his time.

I begin with his doctrinal works as the most important: and I believe I cannot introduce this delicate subject better than by giving a translation

of the passage in Dorner's work on the Person of Christ*, in which this philosophical divine sums up his exposition of the systems of the leading Christian philosophers of that age, Tertullian, Hippolytus, and Origen, respecting the Logos and the Sonship.

“ If we cast a glance upon the development of the ecclesiastical dogma at this remarkable stage (the middle of the third century), and upon the three principal characters who appear on the side of the Church, we find that since the end of the second century it was generally understood that one could not stop at the literal sense of the Logos. For otherwise the distinct hypostasis (personification) of the Logos would not be firmly established, as God himself is Reason (Logos). From this time forth, after the precedent of Tertullian, the watchword becomes ‘*the Son.*’ It is now said by Hippolytus, that the Son is *out of* the Logos, that the Logos is the spiritual substance of God, or the Father himself, and that, so far from being the Son himself, the Logos logically precedes the Son : a proposition which is still further developed by Origen. A large part of the first volume of Origen's “ Commentaries on St. John,” where he represents the ἀρχή of St. John (in which the Logos was μονογενής, or the Son) as the divine σοφία, that is, the νοῦς or λόγος of God

himself, out of which the Son is said to be and to proceed, is intended to carry out the same idea. Thus, by the word 'Son,' a greater distinction was made between the substance and the personality of the second hypostasis; and under the term 'Sonship' was understood originally (by Tertullian and Hippolytus) not the substance, but only the personality of the Son. It followed of itself, that while and because the substance of the second hypostasis is eternal, the personality was not regarded as eternal. The temporal distinction (direction) was also intended to assist the perception and the fixation of the difference between the eternal substance, which is not yet distinct from the Father, and the personality. Tertullian, for instance, in his clumsy method of reasoning, was not able to master this difference, except by fixing it temporally. Doubtless the new watchword 'the Son' was also a temptation to consider the Sonship as not eternal: at least it may readily be understood, that Clemens of Alexandria and Irenæus (with the latter of whom the critical treatment of the dogma of the Logos begins), as they dwelt chiefly on the word Logos, must have found it easier and more indispensable to assert the eternity of the Divine Wisdom and Reason (that is, of the Son, in their sense), than those who started from the word *Son*. As it lay very near to this latter view, to mix up the Son with finiteness, a combination which brought Tertullian to the verge of Patripassianism,

and also placed him in contradiction to himself, since the Son was to spring out of the eternal substance of God, Hippolytus endeavoured to remove this difficulty, by strictly distinguishing God, as the Only Infinite, the Super-infinite One, from the world; but by his determinism the world, and even the humanity of Christ, were divested of personality; and he is obliged to subject the hypostatic existence of the Son to the omnipotent will of God. It is true, that he turns his glance back from the personality of the Son, which comes forth a little later, to His eternal substance; and he tries to draw lines of connection between the two, speaking of the eternal predestination of the personality of the Son. But the Son, it is manifest, is only placed hereby in still more dependence on the omnipotent will of God; and he considers that eternal substance merely as belonging to the Father, and as communicated by him, in accordance with his will and decree, to his hypostatic Son. Origen is the first who rose decidedly above this difficulty. He discerned the contradiction lying in the supposition of a hypostasis, which does not come forth till afterwards, and yet possesses the eternal divine substance, and is asserted not to be a creature. Hence he tries to reconcile the eternity of the divine substance, and the genesis of the personality of the Son, by the dogma of the *eternal*, that is, of the eternally proceeding *generation* of the Son by the Father. But while his predecessors had said much of

the will of the Father, so as to place the Son on a level with the creatures, in a manner contrary to their purpose, Origen, in whose system the will acts such an important part, has not been quite able to avoid this; only he has represented the Son as the hypostatic will of the Father, which proceeded out of His Wisdom or Spirit (*νοῦς* = *λόγος*). In this way Origen brings the dogmas of Tertullian and Hippolytus, in concordance with the eternal generation of the Son, to a conclusion. But, in doing so, he places himself at the same time in a strong realistic opposition to the men of the second century, who had regarded the Son more ideally as the Divine Reason and Wisdom, or at the utmost as the Divine Purpose, which of itself is creative."

As to the place which Hippolytus occupies in the development of the doctrine of the Trinity, the following passage of G. A. Meier's work on that doctrine (1844) shows the stage at which that inquiry has at present arrived. His statement is based upon the passages of the treatise against Noetus, which I have given above, and agrees in many points with Haenell's monography on Hippolytus (1838). His words (p. 88. sq.) are: —

"The coming forth of the Logos at the creation was commonly represented, not as his birth, but as his manifestation; and the dispensation by which this difference was brought out, coincides with the incarnation of the Logos; and here the triple dis-

inction takes the place of the unity of the divine power. This view is still more confirmed by the fact, that Hippolytus decidedly ascribes no personality to the Holy Spirit. He has no fear, that the charge of Tritheism should be brought against him, and only thinks it necessary to say, that he does not preach two Gods. In this he seems to come near to Noetus; yet there is still between them a decided difference. Noetus makes the divinity of the Father dwell in Christ, so that the infinite becomes finite, while the appearance passes by without a lasting existence: this does not establish any real difference in God himself. Hippolytus, on the contrary, with his ecclesiastical tendency, makes the Incarnation the foundation for a real impersonation of the Logos, who in this divine and human personality, as God and Lord of the Church, is taken up into heaven, so that together with him flesh itself (that is, with a rational human soul) enters therein. The doctrine of the Trinity runs with him thus: In the beginning God was alone, he himself being every thing, but not as mere void Being; for he was never without reason, wisdom, and power. This reason that rested in Him, the universe locked up as it were in Him in its ideal existence, came forth into reality the moment He willed it. God manifests the Logos; and everything is formed by thought and wisdom, the first being the creating, the latter the regulating power. The manifestation of the Logos therefore is only

his showing forth in the distinct forms and relations of the real world, wherein Hippolytus does not find a personification of the Logos, which indeed is not contained in them. The Logos merely unveils those relations, and at the same time gives their rules in the Law: he makes the prophets speak by the Holy Ghost, which he gives to them, and becomes the Son by the Incarnation, being only the Reason of God.

"Hippolytus stands nearer to the doctrine of the Logos than Tertullian: it is not unknown to him, but interwoven with his system: yet he belongs to the authors of the ecclesiastical school. If we look merely at his words, we might be inclined to class him with Beryllus and Sabellius; but his tendency is different. Hippolytus is advancing towards the personality of the three subjects, which the others knowingly deny: in assuming the eternal personality of the Son for the future, he is forced to acknowledge it in the past; whereas Beryllus and Sabellius are proceeding towards the notion of an indifferent change of being."

Origen, as I have said above, was, according to these statements, the last person of that age to write the Confession of Faith which we find at the end of the work against all the heresies. I do not see how this can be contested, upon a general survey of the systems and terminologies of that time, as we know them now through the researches of the men whose opinions I have given, and through

those of Baur, of Neander, and of Redepenning. Still, as our work has been published under the name of Origen, I will give the text of that striking passage of the real Origen, which treats on the relation of the Father, the Son, and the Spirit, to show the difference between the two authors both in thought and style. Origen*, in his commentary on the third verse of St. John's Gospel, in order to prove that the Holy Spirit is a creature of the Logos, but as much the third hypostasis of the Trinity as the Son is the second, speaks thus:—

“I think that he who says that the Holy Spirit is made, and who allows that ‘every thing was made by Him,’ must necessarily subscribe to the opinion,

* Opp. iv. 60.: Οἶμαι γὰρ ὅτι τῷ μὲν φάσκοντι γενεήτων τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον εἶναι, καὶ προϊεμένῳ τὸ “πάντα δι’ αὐτοῦ ἐγένετο,” ἀναγκαῖον παραδείξασθαι, ὅτι τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα διὰ τοῦ λόγου ἐγένετο, πρεσβυτέρου παρ’ αὐτὸ τοῦ λόγου τυγχάνοντος. Ἡμεῖς τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις πειθόμενοι τυγχάνειν, τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, καὶ ἀγέννητον μηδὲν ἕτερον τοῦ πατρὸς εἶναι πιστεύοντες, ὥς εὐσεβέστερον καὶ ἀληθές, προσείμεθα τὸ, παντῶν διὰ τοῦ λόγου γινομένων, τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα πάντων εἶναι τιμωτέρον, καὶ τάξει πάντων [1. πρώτων] τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς διὰ Χριστοῦ γεγεννημένων. Καὶ τάχα αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ αἰτία τοῦ μὴ καὶ αὐτὸ υἱὸν χρηματίζειν τοῦ Θεοῦ, μόνου τοῦ μονογενοῦς φύσει υἱοῦ ἀρχῆθεν τυγχάνοντος, οὗ χρῆζειν ἔοικε τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, διακονούντος αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑποστάσει, οὐ μόνον εἰς τὸ εἶναι, ἀλλὰ καὶ σοφὸν εἶναι, καὶ λογικὸν καὶ δίκαιον κ.τ.λ. With this passage Gieseler judiciously compares that from the book De Princip. i. 3. 5.: Μείζων ἡ δύναμις τοῦ πατρὸς παρὰ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον. πλείων δὲ ἡ τοῦ υἱοῦ παρὰ τὸ πνεῦμα τὸ ἅγιον, καὶ πάλιν διαφέρουσα μᾶλλον τοῦ ἁγίου πνεύματος ἡ δύναμις παρὰ τὰ ἄλλα ἅγια.

that the Holy Spirit was made by the Logos, the Logos being anterior to the Spirit. We who are sure that there are three hypostases, the Father, and the Son, and the Holy Spirit, and who hold that both are generated of the Father, this being the more religious and the true opinion, allow that, of all things which have come into existence through the Word, the Holy Spirit is by far the most worthy of honour, and the first in order of those things which have been made by the Father through Christ. And perhaps this is the reason why He is not called a Son of God, as the only-begotten Son alone was by nature the Son from the beginning; and it would appear that the Holy Spirit needed him, the Son ministering to his hypostasis, not only as regards his actual existence, but also as regards his being wise, reasonable, and just."

And again, in another passage:—

"The power of the Father is greater than that of the Son and of the Holy Ghost. That of the Son is greater than that of the Holy Ghost: and again the power of the Holy Ghost surpasses that of all other holy things."

These passages require no commentary to make them bear upon our argument. But I must repeat, the difference is so great, that whoever considers the whole of Origen's system, and places it in connection (as he ought to do) with the terminology and method employed by Origen's master,

Clemens of Alexandria, and by the founder of the Alexandrian school, Pantænus, will be puzzled to understand how the "Confession of Faith" could ever have been ascribed to Origen. That the ancient copyist marked it in the margin as Origen's, is explained by the difference between its terminology, and that of the formularies of the Councils and of the Byzantine divines. Whatever of this sort seemed strange, mystical, suspicious, was ascribed in early times to Origen, by some out of ignorance, by others out of malice. Indeed, this is the reason why the whole work was ascribed to Origen in the East, and so far from being translated into Latin, like other works, was scarcely mentioned, much less quoted, by the later fathers of the Roman Church.

There is the same difference between a philosophical dialogue of Plato and a corresponding one of Cicero, as between our two writers, Hippolytus the Roman, and his perhaps somewhat younger cotemporary, Origen the Alexandrian. And this comparison holds good in many respects. If Origen is no Plato, Hippolytus is no Cicero. But Hippolytus, although intimately connected with Greek literature and philosophy, and evidently endeavouring to unite as much as possible the East and the West, is, to all intents and purposes, in his theological speculations, a man of the Western Church, a Latin and a Roman. There are certainly many points of agreement between him and Origen, over and above the Catholic tendency

of both, as defenders of the Catholic Church against the heretical schools. They were both learned and pious men; they both enjoyed a classical and philosophical education; they were both argumentative, and sometimes sophistical, and both imaginative and somewhat fanciful. In their theological writings more particularly they were both addicted to allegorical and mystical interpretations. But the mysticism of Hippolytus is very different from that of Origen. He indulges in allegorical fancies, as his exegetical writings show, certainly as much as any writer, who was not a Jew, and much more so than Origen, who was a far deeper theologian, a more acute reasoner, and a more accurate scholar. On looking closer, we find his allegorical interpretations are all of an ethical, that is, of a simply moral, and often of a sentimental character; whereas the allegorical imaginations of Origen are metaphysical, and, however fanciful, have always a deep thought in them. Their speculations reproduce the difference between the old Roman and old Greek mythology: the Latin element in these primitive creations is, comparatively speaking, very poor as to ontological ideas, but very rich in everything that relates to the thoughts, the actions, and the sufferings of man.

With regard to the doctrines of Hippolytus, the documents speak for themselves. I doubt not that some people will think it their duty to prove

that Hippolytus had the correct doctrine respecting the Athanasian definition of the three persons. It is true, he says the contrary; but that does not signify with the doctors of the old school. The divines of the seventeenth century harp jesuitically upon one half of Jerome's words about certain expressions of the old fathers: either they have erred, or "*minus caute locuti sunt.*" Those men say only: "the holy fathers express themselves at times somewhat incautiously." Poor old men! They could not speak so clearly as we have learned to do since! All this is delusion for those who believe it: but what is it in the mouths of those who teach it. The grave point in this matter is, that such equivocations have so much shattered the faith of thoughtful laymen, that, in proportion as they demand implicit submission, the belief in the whole system of the ancient Church, and in Christianity itself, has vanished from the minds of men, and from national literature. I say with Meier*, and with almost all German writers of note, that the doctrine of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost is the fundamental doctrine of Christianity, and that without it Christianity, as a theological and as a philosophical system, cannot rank much above Rabbinism and Mohammedanism. The definitions of the ancient Church are good, so far as they are meant to exclude unchristian or illogical imaginations, whether

* Die Lehre von der Trinität.

really or supposed to be against the historical and philosophical groundwork of the Christian faith. But they are imperfect, and have been foisted into Scripture and into the early fathers by means of supposititious words and verses in the New Testament, by forgeries in patristic literature, and by dishonest or untenable readings and interpretations in both. Hippolytus, besides, was a moderate man: he might have said on some points, *Credibile licet ineptum*: he would never have exclaimed with Tertullian, *Credibile quia ineptum*.

I believe I have given materials for a faithful picture of Hippolytus; and I have shown that all we know of him, from the great work now discovered, is in perfect harmony with what we read of him in other acknowledged writings of his. But the greatest test, and, I think, the greatest result, of our assertion, that the "Refutation of all the Heresies" was written by Hippolytus, is its bearing on one of the most contested points in the history of that time, and one of the principal arguments of the Tubingen school respecting the late origin of the Gospel of St. John.

We have seen what a peculiar position Theodotus held in the development of Christian doctrine about the middle of the third century. He divested his speculations entirely of the dualism of Gnosticism, the bane of Christianity. God, and God alone, was the creator and ruler of the universe. As

to the question of Christ, he accepted the preternatural procreation of Jesus, but maintained that the Christ united himself with Jesus when the Spirit descended upon Him in baptism. I hope to show, in another place, how Clemens of Alexandria in the East, and, thirty years later, Hippolytus in the West (and in part Irenæus, his master), tried to bring this system nearer to the Catholic doctrine, and thus to effect a union between the historical Christ of the Church and the ideal Christ of the philosophers: for that seems to me to be their relative position. Hippolytus found very little learning in the Roman Church, and still less spirit of speculation. They had been Monarchianists from the time of Clemens, who was their first regular bishop, before the fourth Gospel was written by St. John. There can be no reasonable doubt that the Roman Church, as it adopted that Gospel, accepted the doctrine of the Logos. But it is clear that this might be done without following the East in all the metaphysical distinctions between the Logos, as the ideal self-consciousness of God, and His embodiment in Jesus of Nazareth as a historical person and true man; and without entering into that hybrid question, mixed up of historical evidence and speculative reasoning, whether and how far the idea of a hypostatic Son was to be placed between that Logos and the historical Jesus. In a word, the Roman doctrine was that of St. John's prologue; but it was built upon the substruction of a conception of Christ, in which the

historical and realistic element prevailed over the idealistic. The doctrine, in the Roman Church, was only subsidiary to government and discipline. That Church partook both of St. Peter and of St. Paul, but with a decided preponderance of the Petrine spirit. The predominant function of their Christ was that of the eternal highpriesthood. The metaphysical germs deposited in St. Paul's epistles, particularly in those to the Ephesians and Colossians, had not fructified in that Church. When the doctrine of the Sonship had been developed to such a point, that it was necessary to come to more accurate definitions respecting the Father and Son, the Monarchianist view prevailed.

Now I do not believe that Zephyrinus, any more than Noetus himself, thought that, in adopting a system which, if consistently carried out, must have led to simple Patripassianism, he made any notable change in the system of the Church. He might say, like Noetus, he only intended to honour Christ. He said certainly (as we know from Hippolytus) that those who opposed him "acknowledged two Gods," if, in acknowledging Christ to be God, they did not allow God to be Christ. But certainly the position which Zephyrinus and Callistus took and maintained in this respect for almost a quarter of a century (twenty-three years), was a turning point in the doctrinal position of Rome.

The position of Hippolytus in this respect has its

key in his great work, but its further explanation in the "Little Labyrinth." Both works explain each other, as the works of the same person alone can do.

So much on the doctrinal character of Hippolytus and of his writings.

As to the fanciful interpretations, both of Hippolytus and of Origen, they differ in one point favourably from many orthodox interpretations in modern times. There is almost always either some learning, or a philosophical thought, a Christian idea, at the bottom. It is true, the conjunction of that idea with the text is generally childish, arbitrary, and sometimes absurd. But in the last 250 years we have had many quite as arbitrary, and even as absurd interpretations, without the slightest chance of any philosophical or even Christian idea, beyond homely moralisms and truisms.

We observe the same characteristic features in the importance which Hippolytus attaches to the maintenance of ecclesiastical discipline among the clergy. His severity in this respect, compared with the conduct of Callistus, is individual; but this is only a difference in degree. His ecclesiastical polity may be termed Presbyterianism, as asserting the right, which the presbyters, as a body, claimed against the bishops, in matters of general interest, at least as far as a full veto. To understand this polity, we must recollect that Presbyterianism had already earned its well-deserved reward for having

cooperated with Episcopalianism in excluding the laity more and more from the legislation and administration of the Church; a tendency and a success of which I have traced the different phases in the East and West during the second century in my "Letters on Ignatius." The clergy had obtained the government of the Church: with regard to the election of bishops (and of the bishop of Rome more particularly), the primitive right of the laity was preserved in name only, but in practice was either a consent by acclamation, or a tumultuous veto. There was no municipal organization of parishes and dioceses for that purpose: indeed the organization of masses solely for the purposes of election, without other rights, is a delusion or a deception in every polity whether civil or ecclesiastical.

Things had much changed, in this respect also, at Rome during the four generations which separated Clemens, the first regular Roman bishop, from Callistus. When, about twenty years before the Gospel of St. John was written, the Corinthians thought fit to supersede some elderly presbyters by new ones, notwithstanding their protests that they held their office for life by apostolic institution, Clemens of Rome, in a very sensible letter, contented himself with advising them to let that order of things remain, and to respect the well-founded right of those venerable elders. The Philippians appear to have continued

to live under the same aristocratic constitution about the middle of the second century, when Polycarp addressed his epistle to them. But in the latter part of that century almost the whole Christian world adopted the Episcopalian system. This system must be considered in its idea, on the whole, as the prototype of the Germanic constitutional monarchy; for both suppose, by the side of a collegiate and a popular power, the right of a governing individual, entitled and qualified to oppose his free veto in legislative decisions, at least so far as to secure his not being forced to act against his conscience. It is no less true that the adoption of this system saved Christianity at the time from the greatest perils, than that its degeneracy crippled the energies of the Church. The balance of power was soon overthrown. Of the three constitutional elements, two were clerical, and the third had neither a congregational nor a synodical organization. In consequence, the whole power fell into the hands of the clergy. The presbyters became priests; the office of administrative elders was merged in that of liturgic presbyters; and the ministers of Christ and of the Church (*ἐκκλησία*) began to appear as sacrificial mediators. The bishops drew the great prizes in the lottery, and the bishop of Rome the greatest. I think I have fully established these points, and other collateral ones, in my "Letters on Ignatius." But our information as to the details

of this process in the diocese of Rome was very scanty. We gain very valuable additions on this point from our work.

In the time of Callistus the power of the bishop of Rome was already more absolute than constitutional. Although the bishop's office was of course elective, the clergy in ordinary times had it altogether in their hands; and although legislation was, as far as the form went, vested in a collegiate body—in the presbytery, or the body of presbyters, presided over by the bishop,—and the judicial power entirely so, the real government of the Church was in the hands of the bishop. According to Hippolytus, Callistus asserted that a bishop could never be deposed by the presbytery, or obliged to abdicate, even though he committed a sin unto death. Hippolytus mentions this as a proof of a theory of Church-government, which he deemed neither constitutional nor tending to improve public or private morals. All weighty affairs evidently passed still through the presbytery. We have, in Cornelius' letter about Novatian, the official list of the clergy of the city of Rome (Euseb. H. E. vi. 43.). This letter being of the year 250, the presbytery can scarcely have differed, in its principal features, from that of which Hippolytus was a member some twenty years earlier. There were under Cornelius at Rome 42 priests and 7 deacons. The number of the latter is that of the ecclesiastical regions, as I have shown in the "Description of Rome." The

number of the presbyters undoubtedly indicates the number of the Christian meeting-houses in the city. Optatus Milevitanus, 50 years later, under Diocletian, gives their number as forty and upwards. These persons, therefore, formed the presbytery. According to the thirty-fifth Apostolical Canon, the bishops of the suburban towns, including Portus, also formed at that time an integral part of the Roman presbytery, called in later times the College of Cardinals. I believe I have, moreover, rendered it more than probable above, that the origin of that institution can only be explained by the position which those cities, and Portus in particular, occupied in the second and third centuries. That body consisted then of the parish priests of Rome, and of the suburban bishops, exactly as the College of Cardinals does now; only that the deacons of the Roman Church had probably a more subordinate position at that time, than that of their nominal successors, the Cardinal Deacons. Indeed this Presbyterian form was still existing at the end of the sixteenth century, when pope Sixtus V. found it convenient to divide the College into boards (called Congregations), without any but a consulting vote.

The system of government in the year 220 was naturally only one of transition, particularly at Rome. Practice and theory differed. But the issue could not be doubtful, so long as the political state of the world was not changed, a fresh race introduced,

and the national element raised in independent and intelligent Christian states.

The system of discipline in the Church of Rome as to the marriage of presbyters was very much like that which now prevails in the Greek Church. The evangelical liberty confirmed by the example of the apostles, and that of many illustrious bishops in the second century, had gradually been infringed. There was, in conformity with Canons 17—19, no vow of celibacy: but it was not thought conformable with St. Paul's saying, "A presbyter should be the husband of one wife," that a presbyter who lost his wife should marry again so long as he kept his office. From this the inference was drawn, that he who had a second or a third wife, ought not, strictly speaking, to be made a presbyter. The next step was, that he who had been ordained presbyter, when unmarried, should not marry during that office. It was on this point more particularly that Hippolytus was at issue with bishop Callistus, who made no difficulty in ordaining, as presbyters, men who had a second or third wife, or in allowing unmarried presbyters to marry and keep their office. We see that in this respect also the age of Hippolytus was one of transition. There were different ways before the Church. She might have struck out some middle course between the two systems of Callistus and Hippolytus, and then would probably have come to something like the system of the Greek Church in Russia, where a parish

priest must be a married man, having his first wife; so much so, that at her death he is expected to retire and go into a convent, the place out of which bishops are generally taken. The majority of the bishops, assembled at Nice in 325, first (as Socrates says in his "Ecclesiastical History") introduced a new law, forbidding bishops, priests, and deacons, who were married men, to keep their office, unless they would give up married life. This regulation soon grew into a general custom, notwithstanding the strong Christian and moral opposition of the venerable bishop Paphnutius, and became the basis of still greater encroachments in later times, in spite of the moral reluctance of the Germanic nations.

In the time of Hippolytus the ecclesiastical office was so far from giving an indelible character, that neither a presbyter nor a bishop would have been prevented from quitting his office, and marrying like any other Christian. That whole theory of the canonists is of a later date. The learned Christian kept his pallium, the philosopher's cloak, when he accepted an office in the Church, which might be that of an episcopos, as well as of a presbyter. He kept the old pallium, when he retired from the office.

Such, I think, were on the whole the opinions of Hippolytus, as our lately discovered book and his other writings clearly show. Such was his social position as a bishop, and as a member of the Roman presbytery: and such was the Christian and

clerical world in which he occupied so conspicuous a place.

We know so little of the particulars of his life, that we must form our ideas of his character chiefly from his writings, and from the high repute and authority attached to his name both in the Western and the Eastern Church. An anonymous Greek contemporary of Chrysostom calls him, the most sweet and most benevolent (γλυκύτατος καὶ εὐνούστατος): Jerome, "vir disertissimus."

If I were to sum up his character as a writer in a few words, I should say that Hippolytus was not an original writer, but a well-read and judicious compiler. He delighted in transferring useful facts from older authors into his own books, and in introducing Greek ideas into the Latin church. Thus he dealt with Irenæus and Josephus. I suspect he has done the same with Hegesippus, in the historical account of the lives of the Apostles and of the Apostolic age, which is quoted as by Hippolytus, and which, I have endeavoured to show, formed part of his "Chronicle." This point seems to me more particularly proved by some coincidences in the opinions of Hippolytus with the "Fragmentum Muratorianum," a fragment, however ill translated, of the historical work of Hegesippus, written about 165. How great the merit of Hippolytus is in transcribing whole passages from the writings of the ancient heretics, instead of giving us merely garbled

extracts from them, we have seen through the whole of our inquiry in the second letter. But there is another circumstance which should not be passed over in silence. From the very dawn of Catholic literature, beginning with *Hermas*, the Shepherd,—that good, but dull novel, which, *Niebuhr* used to say, he pitied the Athenian Christians for being obliged to hear read in their meetings,—it had been the object of the Christian writers to render the Greek and Roman mind, by degrees, independent of the writings of heathen philosophers, and to create a Catholic literature and library, more particularly for the use of children and of catechumens. It was therefore very natural for Hippolytus to transfer all he wanted from *Sextus Empiricus* to his own books. To quote Gentile writers for good things taken from them was not required by Catholic honesty. They were considered fair game, and plundered. So was *Josephus* falsified, before *Eusebius*' time; so were the Greek fathers by their later epitomizers and translators, *St. Ambrose* and *Cassiodorus*.

But with all this Hippolytus was far the most gifted and the most diligent enquirer in the Western Church of his time. A worthy disciple of *Irenæus*, he surpassed the Apostle of the Gauls in method and in knowledge, and did much to diffuse through the Western Church that light which the Greek *Irenæus* had kindled in the unphilosophical West. I am inclined to believe that the influence of

Hippolytus in this respect was very great. His having been a Roman by birth, or at least from his youth up a member of the Roman Church, contributed much to this influence. Rome was, and continued, not only the mistress of the world, but also the centre of communication between the East and the West. Every aspiring talent in the Church, every new doctrine striving after notoriety, thronged to Rome. Christian Rome preserved the instinctive talent for government and order, as well as the inferiority in science and in intellectuality, which are peculiar to the Roman mind compared with the Greek. The education of Hippolytus, under Irenæus, brought him into contact with the Greek mind: he may even have known Origen; and he had certainly read Clemens of Alexandria, although it is a fable, whether invented or picked up somewhere by Cave, that he was his disciple. His residence at Portus, then the harbour of the civilized world, and rendered like Alexandria agreeable to the visitors by temples erected for all foreign religions and forms of worship, must, with such preparations and such talents and zeal, have contributed as much to increase his knowledge as his influence. He there became the "Bishop of the Nations," as he was, most probably, called in his lifetime. For that this title is mentioned by Photius as given to Caius the presbyter, is, as we have seen, only a consequence of his having taken Caius to be the

author of the treatise about the "Cause of the Universe." What he knew was, that this author was made a bishop of the Gentiles. Consequently, this was a title given to Hippolytus. As to the extent of his reading and study, it is certainly far beyond that of a thoroughbred native Roman. His knowledge extended to mathematics, physical science, and astronomy. It is true, that his Paschal cycle of 112 (7×16) years is very incorrect; but he was the first person who gave any to the Western Church. He inquired into physical problems and mechanical contrivances, to discover and unmask the gabblers and jugglers of the age. His knowledge of Greek literature and philosophy was far greater than that of Irenæus, or of any of his Western cotemporaries, the African Tertullian not excepted. In short, Hippolytus followed up at Rome the Alexandrian doctrine and position of Pantænus and Clemens, and was the predecessor of Origen, whom he certainly did not equal in learning, depth, and speculative power, any more than in his somewhat Oriental eccentricity.

There is one peculiar feature in Hippolytus, which we must not overlook, if we wish to understand the place he occupied in his age. He was the first preacher of note whom the Church of Rome ever produced. There were no homilies by a bishop of the Church of Rome known before those of Leo the Great, who mounted the episcopal cathedra in the year 440. This is a curious, but indisputable

fact. Clemens, the only learned Roman bishop of the old time, wrote an epistle, but no homily: which perhaps was the reason why so many homilies were forged under his name. Caius and Hippolytus are the first ecclesiastical authors mentioned as Romans: and of these two Caius the presbyter wrote polemical and critical treatises, but no homilies. This is what Sozomen says, in that at first sight startling passage of his "Ecclesiastical History" (vii. 19.), published a few years before Leo became bishop of Rome. His words are: "In the city of Rome no bishop, nor any body else, has preached." Now there can be no doubt, that during all that period at Rome, as in all other churches, the Gospel, when read to the people in their parish churches, was explained to them. But these were popular expositions, not works of science and eloquence, like those of the Eastern fathers and bishops; and therefore they were never published. Hippolytus made an exception to this: the ancient writers quote a number of his homilies: the homiletic address seems even to have been his favourite form of treating exegetical and polemical subjects. But in all this he merely followed Origen, whose exegetical works are in part, as we know, in the form of short essays or meditations on a text, concluding with the doxology. In popularising Greek thought and science at Rome, Hippolytus elevated the Roman parish sermon to a learned homily; and

this is perhaps the real purport of the story, that he preached a sermon in the presence of Origen. It is natural that in Sozomen's time the history of Hippolytus, veiled and smothered at Rome, was not much known in the East: but it is surprising that Neander does not even name Hippolytus, when he speaks of the distinguished writers of the early Roman Church. He names only Caius, and the very doubtful Novatian (i. 1176.). It must be by an oversight that he regrets the loss of Hippolytus' homily on the festival of the Theophany, which is extant and printed in the edition of Fabricius (i. 261—264.), and of undoubted authenticity. But the sermon which, Jerome says, he preached before Origen, he calls a sermon in praise of the Saviour; and we have no reason to believe that it was this.

His life, as well as his writings, shows a man of stronger feelings than Origen had, but, like him, honest, and a man of rigorous morals. He lived a laborious life for his fellow-creatures, both as a student and teacher, and as a practical man. He became a martyr for his faith, and possibly for his honesty; and, dying for his faith, he died for the religion of the spirit, and for the liberty of conscience, and the future freedom of mankind. For that was the great struggle of those times. Peace be with his memory, and honour to his virtue and piety!

I consider the picture I have endeavoured to draw of Hippolytus to be historically true, and borne out by incontrovertible facts; and I believe that, on the whole, my judgment as to the value of his writings will be found impartial. But I cannot conceal from myself, that I see little prospect of having my portrait as well understood and as much liked as I wish.

I am fully aware that some persons will think, I have not treated Hippolytus with the respect due to a sainted father of the Latin Church. For to certain persons every such father speaks with a share of the collective infallibility of a synodical clergy; and these patristic idolaters are strongly inclined to impose such an authority upon us in matters of fact, no less than in metaphysical formularies. We are to submit to those fathers, if they assert something as a historical fact, which we have very good reasons for not giving credit to, or which we know to be untrue; and as to metaphysical theories, we are to receive their opinions with the greater respect, the more they are contrary to the reasoning power to which they appeal. When these theologians, unworthy of the name of Protestants, of thinkers, and of historians, speak of the paramount weight of their concordant interpretations, they ignore, or do not know, that, on all questions of Scriptural and primitive Christianity which are now doubtful to us, the ancient writers were in as much uncertainty as we

are. The writers of the fourth century generally contradict those of the second, who were in part witnesses, or reported credible evidence and plausible traditions; whereas those later fathers were only critics, and most of them very indifferent and biassed ones. For they often proceed from systems, historical and doctrinal, which strongly impair their qualifications for being judges, and still more show their unfitness for being set up as infallible models of criticism. If then to criticize the fathers is to show them disrespect, these later fathers have themselves shown it to their predecessors. The much trumpeted saying, "*Quod semper, quod ubique, quod ab omnibus,*" is a silly truism in the sense of those idolaters of the letter, and, if taken in the sense in which it is true, destroys their system and their authority.

To criticisms or contradictions from this quarter I am resolved not to answer a word, either as regards historical points or speculative ones: for these persons do not go by facts, but by system; they do not appeal to truth, but to authority; and they reason as if they had searched for truth only to betray it when found. They give no argument, or none worth a serious refutation: and no argument shall they ever have from me.

There is a second class of persons, who may wish to judge Hippolytus freely and fairly; but who, I am afraid, do not sufficiently regard the immediate object of the researches of the fathers, and

forget that history and historical truth are at issue with our historical faith in the fundamental notions of early Christianity. Of these, I am afraid, many will blame me for having made too much of the writings of Hippolytus, and will maintain that I have overrated the value and importance of his historical writings. Some may even imagine they are saying something, if they render men like Hippolytus and Irenæus ridiculous. It is true, that Gibbon likes sometimes to ridicule men of this sort in his, on the whole, admirable and wonderful work. But this is the tribute he paid to an idealess and conceited age; and they who think they must either adopt this view, or follow the superstitious line, are not aware that in so doing they are the representatives of a defunct period, and of a bankrupt system of the philosophy of history. They are men of the past; and their general view of literature, poetry, and philosophy, is nothing but the *caput mortuum* of a so-called philosophy, centring in blind self-sufficiency. The age which produced it knew how to deny and to destroy, but never even tried to produce and to rebuild; it attacked falsehood, without giving truth; and it brought forth no other final result than a judicially blind reaction, and produced in poor worried humanity a morbid tendency to seek refuge and salvation in exploded superstitions, and in hollow and impotent formularies of the past. I have always thought, that they have little sense of the future,

who cannot look upon the past except through the coloured spectacles of their own conceit, or that of their age. But, as I have already hinted at the beginning of my letters, seeing that there are on that side not only men who think little of the wisdom of the old fathers, and much of that of their own party, but also men really anxious for truth, although not sufficiently acquainted with facts, nor conversant with critical inquiry, still less with the method of intellectual speculation, I am desirous to find a way to their minds and hearts, in order to prove to them, that there may be much excellence in individuals, and great value in their testimony, in spite of errors and blunders belonging to their age, which appear to us ridiculous, if not offensive. Historical criticism is neither a party question, nor the business of *dilettanti*: it requires the earnestness and the conscientiousness of a judge. I know very well that Hippolytus has not treated bishop Callistus much more courteously than Luther did Henry VIII.; and I think, there is in Hippolytus' controversy against Callistus the appearance of the odium theologicum, and personal bitterness and irritation, which is certainly not conformable with the ideal of a "perfect Christian temper." But what has that, after all, to do with his truth, and with his facts? It must make the historian cautious not to take his judgment in this matter as unbiassed and impartial; but it is mere sentimentality or hy-

pocrisy to determine by this standard the judgment upon the great question at issue. And this I conceive simply to be, — whether the man was good and honest (humanly speaking), or a fool and rogue. No man is both; and every historical character is either the one or the other. I do not know what are considered the ingredients in a canonized martyr, a sainted ecclesiastical writer and bishop. But I confess, that, if moral indignation against wickedness and falsehood is not one, I must look for bright patterns of what is good and great among the classical heathens, or among common Christians. As to my own taste, since nothing human is perfect, I prefer good, strong indignation infinitely to an impotent indifference, and to mawkish hypocrisy. The man who will not attack a falsehood, will not defend truth; and he who dares not call a knave a knave (whether he be his bishop or brother-bishop or not), will not treat tyranny as tyranny, when the cause of Christian truth is attacked by force. Yet it was for doing this that the martyrs died, from Hippolytus to Ridley. Nor do I see how any man can speak too strongly, when he is defending truth against wickedness. This was not the view of the middle ages: Thomas Aquinas was not deemed less wise or less holy by Dante and others of his worshippers, for having intimated clearly enough what he thought of tyrants like Charles of Anjou.

“But he ought not to have been so personal against Callistus.” — “And how do you know,”

I should answer to such an assertion, "that it was personal feeling, personal bitterness, personal obstinacy, that made Hippolytus so indignant? and that it was not the love of truth, and of the Christian people, and of his own Church, that made him write the ecclesiastical memoirs of the Roman presbytery of that time?" Respect for authority is something; but respect for truth is more. Socrates (to judge from similar expressions of his) would not have thought that Hippolytus possessed the highest Attic grace in exposing the wickedness of Callistus; but he might have said, that, for a man imbued with Judaic barbarism, he expressed himself tolerably well, and that, on the whole, he gave him the impression of a Godfearing man, wishing to do good to his fellow-believers and fellow-men.

Considering all these difficulties with which the subject is beset, I should find myself very much embarrassed if I were to close my researches at this stage of my inquiry. Whatever I may have done in these letters to show the importance of the discovery, and to vindicate the character of Hippolytus where I think him right, I am sure few will take the trouble to go through the details; and, if I were to stop here, I should certainly not do what I ought at least to attempt, in behalf of an author, whose historical worth I have undertaken to represent, and whom therefore I must bring in contact with our own times.

In another place I have rendered account of what I intend to say from a more general point of view,

and justified the fiction to which I have been obliged to have recourse. I have endeavoured to let Hippolytus speak for himself, as he would, if, hearing that his principal work had been stolen from him, and printed at Oxford under the name of Origen, he had come to England to plead his cause before the English public generally. He might then, I think, supposing him to write, not in his stately way, but indulging here and there a little in his innocent humour, address his critics and judges in this country in something like the Speech which I put into his mouth.

The final object of all historical criticism is to make a historical character of a long past age become to us a living, and as it were a speaking, image. But in a case like ours, the hero of our critical inquiry and his age must also become a mirror to us and to our age. We must see how we should have appeared to them. We have the same faith in common, although our language and our rites, and our formularies, and our government, differ widely. We must translate their language into ours; and then we may confidently hope to see in them a faithful mirror of our own condition, of our advantages and hopes, our defects and dangers. This is the problem. He must speak to us, as he was, and felt, and thought: and I must make him speak thus in a language which is neither his nor mine. I cannot hope to succeed as I wish in such an attempt: but I may hope to give you, and other English

friends of Hippolytus, some materials for doing better what I have attempted, in despair of being able to draw a perfect historical picture of him and his age.

My last request to you therefore, my dearest friend, is, that you will read whatever I have further to say, with the same kindness which you have shown to these letters.

And now there remains for me only one task more ; and that is the most agreeable to me. I have to thank you, my dear friend, not only for the highly instructive attention you have so kindly bestowed upon the letters I have had the happiness to write to you, but for having moreover dedicated a loving godfather's care to my poor naked child. Your invaluable library has furnished me with indispensable books, for which I had looked in vain in the British Museum. Your erudition and sagacity have still more effectually assisted me in many difficult points of so complicated a research, which I am obliged to carry on hurriedly, in the midst of a London season, and that of the Exhibition. But, above all, by your kind sympathy you have encouraged me to render my researches as complete as I can, and the expression of my own personal convictions as explicit as the occasion seems to require. For all this kindness, accept, my dearest friend, the sincere thanks of

Yours ever faithfully,

BUNSEN.

POSTSCRIPT.

Carlton Terrace, July 26, 1851.

Having carried my letters, this day, so far through the press, that I have been able to submit the printed sheets of the whole to you, I think it right to add a few words on two able articles upon the same subject, which have appeared since I wrote my letters; one in the last number of the "Quarterly Review," and the other in the June and July numbers of the "Ecclesiastic." The ingenious and elegant author of the former article has waived the question of the Origenian or non-Origenian authorship, and limited himself to consider the work as an undoubtedly authentic and highly interesting specimen of the historical and ecclesiastical literature of the beginning of the third century. This article is well calculated to excite the attention of the public; and the metrical versions of the beautiful lyrical fragments betoken a consummate scholar and an elegant poet.

The writer of the article in the "Ecclesiastic" has gone into the question of the authorship with learning and acuteness. Convinced of the genuineness of the work, he is equally convinced that Origen cannot have written it, and that it must have been written at Rome: he thinks that Caius

the presbyter is the author. But the main part of his discussion is directed to the first point, that the book is not and cannot be Origen's; and he has brought forward many excellent arguments to prove this. He shows that Origen, knowing what his writings indicate he did about the Ebionites, could not have repeated the common opinion as to their origin and tenets, which our author relates, following Irenæus (2d Art. p. 50.). He also observes very ingeniously, that, if Origen had known what our book states respecting the cropping of the ears employed by the Carpocratians, he would not have had recourse to the unfortunate conjecture by which he tries to throw suspicion on some remarks of Celsus against the Christians on this score (ib. p. 51.). Nor can one escape this difficulty by saying that our work was written in the earlier part of his life, before his book against Celsus, in which the expressions just alluded to occur. For our learned author proves, that, if our work was by Origen, it must have been written at a very late period. We know from Eusebius (vii. 38.) that Origen became acquainted with the Ebionites and wrote against them towards the close of his life (therefore at least 30 years after his short stay at Rome), and when the sect was expiring. The author of our work, on the contrary, knew and opposed them at Rome, when they were influential and strong.

All this is in confirmation of the negative part of

my argument, that the book was not written by Origen. But I have mainly followed out the positive argument, that it was written at Rome, and by Hippolytus. The author of the articles agrees with me, as far as Origen is concerned. He is moreover fully convinced that the book points to Rome, and to a disciple of Irenæus.* I cannot help flattering myself that a further consideration of this matter by so competent a judge and so accurate a scholar, will lead him to an equal certainty as to the other point,—that

. * I am happy to mention, with respect to this point, a very acute observation by the learned writer of these articles. Having observed the relation of the 19th chapter of the 2d book of Irenæus to the "Philosophumena" (I am afraid, without doing justice to the immense improvement on Irenæus by our author, both in research and in method), he remarks that our author has almost copied from Irenæus the following passage found in that chapter: —

"Quæ apud omnes qui Deum ignorant et qui dicuntur philosophi sunt dicta, hæc congregant et quasi centonem ex multis pessimis panniculis consarcientes," &c.

The corresponding passage of our book is found in the beginning of the fifth book (p. 94. 26.): 'Αφ' ὧν τὰς ἀφορμὰς μετασχόντες οἱ αἰρεσιάρχαι, δίκην παλαιοῦν συγκαττάσαντες πρὸς τὸν ἴδιον νοῦν τὰ τῶν παλαιῶν σφάλματα ὡς καινὰ παρέθισαν τοῖς πλανᾶσθαι δυναμένοις. As to the supposition that Clemens of Alexandria copied a passage (Strom. vii. end, p. 700. Gr.) from Irenæus (v. 8.), I cannot help thinking that the writer has mentioned this groundless conjecture merely to show he was aware of it, not that he himself shares the absurd opinion that Clemens copied, or could have copied, Irenæus. Two authors of the same time may hit, independently of each other, on an absurd interpretation, as well as on a reasonable one.

our work was not written by Caius, to whom nobody attributes such a work, but by Hippolytus, whose volume with the same title, arrangement, and contents, Photius had before him. As to the unfortunate hypothesis that Origen wrote the work against the heresies, the writer of those articles makes the acute remark, that the view of the author of the treatise on the Universe (who must be the same with the author of our book), respecting the immutability of the state of the wicked after death, is incompatible with Origen's notions on the subject.

By the side of such criticism, I can only attribute it to an oversight of the moment, that the writer, in animadverting on the blunder made by the editor respecting the martyrdom of Callistus under Fuscianus, indulges in the equally incredible supposition (p. 59.), that Hippolytus speaks of two different persons, both bearing the name of Callistus, — the man scourged under Fuscianus about the year 190, and the successor of Zephyrinus, whom Callistus did actually succeed in the year 217. The whole account given by Hippolytus centres so entirely in the circumstance that Callistus, the swindler, became first as we should say, Cardinal-Vicar, and then Pope, that it is needless to quote the passages in which the author says, that the same Callistus, of whom he had been speaking all the time, obtained, after the death of Zephyrinus, what he had been hunting for all his life, and was made bishop of Rome. I

cannot but agree with him that it would have been better, that the University of Oxford should not have had the appearance of sanctioning such a mistake as the attributing of this work to Origen. But I do not see how the University can fairly be made responsible for this false title. As to the directors of the Clarendon Press, I entertain a hope, and beg to express it with sincere respect, that, even if the venerable Dean of Christchurch, Dr. Gaisford, to whom ecclesiastical as well as classical philology already owes so much, should not feel himself moved to present us with a new edition, that noble institution will not hold itself pledged to the opinion of the learned editor, if he should persevere in that opinion. I trust that they will be glad to become instrumental in placing a new critical edition soon before the public, not only of this misnamed book, but of all the works of Hippolytus, among which, I trust, will be included the "Little Labyrinth," and the "Treatise on the Substance of the Universe." Thus the University, and the literary world, and Saint Hippolytus himself, will receive the best satisfaction for the printing of his most instructive work at the Oxford University Press under a false title.

B.

SECOND POSTSCRIPT.

Carlton Terrace, 24th August.

Whilst finally revising these sheets for the press, I have received from Germany a series of five articles on our book, inserted in some late numbers (21st June to 19th July) of the Berlin weekly ecclesiastical periodical, "*Deutsche Zeitschrift für christliche Wissenschaft und christliches Leben.*" They are written by Professor Jacobi, a disciple and follower of Neander, known by his "*Handbook of the History of the Church.*" I am happy to see that the learned writer has come to the same results as far as Origen is concerned. He says it is impossible to ascribe to him the authorship of the work published at Oxford. His arguments are, that nobody ever attributed a work with this title or contents to Origen; that, if he had executed his purpose of treating on the heresies and on the ancient philosophical doctrines, he would have done it in a very different manner; that the style of our work is as unlike that of Origen, as the whole method and view of the inquiry, and that this is true in the most eminent degree of the Confession of Faith. In going through the last argument, the author, I believe, has misunderstood the text, in making our author say, man had no mind or intellect (*voûs*). There are indeed in our text some words

which at first sight imply such an absurdity ; but, as we have seen, this appearance is founded upon an untenable reading.

Professor Jacobi also admits, that the writer must have lived a considerable time at Rome, and names Caius and Hippolytus as the most probable authors. But Caius (according to him) cannot be the author of the work, if Eusebius' account of him is true : in particular, he could not ascribe the Apocalypse to St. John.

Why then, asks Professor Jacobi, should not the book be the work of Hippolytus of Portus, whose death is described by Prudentius, and on whose statue the titles of many of those writings are engraved, which antiquity quotes as works of Hippolytus, and of which we possess fragments? He inclines to think with Gieseler (and Kimmel) that this Hippolytus had been brought up at Antioch or Alexandria. He doubts whether Portus can at that time have had a bishop; whereas I think, if it had not had one at that time, when a town was synonymous with a diocese, it would never have had any. It would have been made a part of Ostia, whose suburb it may almost be said to have formed : whereas down to the present moment both titles are kept up as distinct, from time immemorial. As to the assertion of Prudentius, that Hippolytus had been a Novatian at an earlier period, he thinks this must be understood of the earliest part of Nova-

tianism, although he allows that our book makes no mention whatever either of Novatus or of Novatianism. After having rejected the absurd idea, that Novatian himself might be the author, he asks whether the work named on the cathedra, *Πρὸς Ἑλληνας*, which he translates "Against the Hellenes," might not mean our work? As to the book on Antichrist, he thinks ch. xlix. points to the time of Gallienus, whereas Hippolytus must have died before Gallienus (261), and before the persecution of Valerian (257). What startles him chiefly is, that the quotation in the letter of bishop Peter of Alexandria about the Quartodecimans is not found in our book.

As to the epoch in which it was written, he fixes the time between 225 and 250.

Finally, the author gives his remarks on the importance of our work. Besides the advantage, that it enriches our knowledge of the internal history of the ancient Church, Professor Jacobi, faithful to the views of his great master, calls the attention of the reader principally to two points. The one is, that the extracts from Basilides and other ancient authors prove that the fourth Gospel was commented upon early under Hadrian. The second, that the circumstance of Zephyrinus and Callistus having inclined towards the Patripassian views affords us the unknown fact respecting a change which took place in the doctrine of the Church of Rome under Zephyrinus. Professor Jacobi is led by these two facts to the same

conclusion, to which I have come at the same time, independently of him,—that the whole historical scheme of the Tübingen school about the late origin of the fourth Gospel, the Ebionitism of the Roman Church before Zephyrinus, and the decisive influence of Montanism upon her dogmatical development, is now proved to be erroneous, as it always appeared to Neander, whose views are confirmed in their essential points. As to the nature of the controversy with Callistus, the following words (p. 234.) seem to me to state the case in a concise and striking manner:—

“ The stricter doctrine of subordination, on which our author insists, did not satisfy Callistus, whose mind was directed with predilection to the Unity of the Father and the Son. Even a representation, which goes so much beyond Ebionitism and Artemonitism, appeared too poor to Callistus and the Roman congregation. Our author, in his turn, identifies Callistus more than is just with the Patripassians, in like manner as in later times the Homoûsion and Sabellianism were confounded. How remarkable, that thus, at the beginning of the second century, we meet within the Roman congregation the same antagonism, in which, at a later period (260), we find Dionysius the bishop of Rome and Dionysius of Alexandria engaged ! Callistus, as we learn now, had already excommunicated Sabellius, then living at Rome: and him Dionysius of Alex-

andria also combats. On the other side, Callistus followed with a decided step the tendency towards the Homoûsion, in opposition to the old theory of the subordination of the Logos. We therefore see that the development of the Trinitarian doctrine did not take place at Rome so peaceably as was supposed hitherto. But it is remarkable, that, as that Church never allowed the Ebionite theory to predominate, so in the time of the Roman Dionysius it had already within its own limits gone through that struggle, which was soon to shake the entire Church to its foundation, and it had, at an early period, taken the course which may be designated as the Trinitarian, by upholding the Homoûsion against Subordinationism, but to the exclusion of Sabellianism."

The points of difference between Professor Jacobi and myself are therefore of minor importance, whereas we agree on all the essential ones: and we have arrived at our conclusions without knowing of each other. I flatter myself I have removed the difficulties which led that learned man still to entertain doubts as to the authorship and life of Hippolytus.

At the same time that I received from Germany these articles of Professor Jacobi, I learned by an article of Professor Schneidewin in the last number of his "Philologus" on the fragments of Empedocles contained in our work, that the friend of that eminent critic, Dr. Duncker, of the University of Göt-

tingen, is prepared to prove that our book is not the work of Origen, but of Hippolytus. If further intelligence respecting the researches in Germany on our subject reach me in time, I will give a report of them.* In the mean time the hitherto identical result of all inquiries, perfectly independent of each other, seems to augur well for the course I have taken.

B.

* *Nov.* 17. The "Göttinger gelehrte Anzeigen" of this quarter contains, in Nos. 152—155., an article on the Oxford publication, written by Dr. Duncker. The author, after having given a detailed account of the contents, declares briefly that Hippolytus must be the author, and promises to prove this assertion in the new edition of the work which he and Professor Schneidewin are preparing.

APPENDIX.

THE FRAGMENTS OF HIPPOLYTUS COLLECTED BY CARDINAL MAI. (See page 226.)

CARDINAL MAI has had the good sense to adorn the first volume of his "Scriptorum Veterum nova Collectio" (Rom. 1825, 4to) with the statue of Hippolytus (p. v.), and to explain (p. xxxv.) the incorrect Greek expression, "Bishop of Rome," in the superscription of those extracts, by the circumstance that he was bishop of the harbour of Rome, which they mistook for Rome itself. In the second part of the same volume he gives, in a Catena about Daniel (p. 161—222.), such fragments of the book of Hippolytus on this subject as were hitherto inedited. There are in the Catenæ, extracted in the continuation of this colossal work, fragments of other works, mostly exegetical, of Hippolytus. Of all these I give here a list which I believe to be complete, and the text itself wherever they appear to me to be of importance on account of their contents. They are the following:—

Page

169. v. 3. 5.

170. v. 10. 14.

172. v. 29.

173. v. 31. *αἱ δημοκρατίαι αἱ μέλλονσαι γίγνεσθαι*, &c.;
to be compared with the corresponding passage in
the book on the Antichrist.

175. v. 33, 34.
 177. v. 43.
 178. v. 46.: where Mai calls the attention of the reader to the fact, that the Commentary of Hippolytus was in the form of a homily; a direct confirmation of what I have generally observed on this subject. Compare also Mai's note, p. 184.
 179. v. 48, 49. and 1.
 180. v. 7.
 181. v. 16. 19.
 184. v. 3.
 189. v. 93. Compare Mai's note 3.
 199. v. 1, 2, 3.
 200. v. 4. 5 (ter). He quotes here the "preceding book" (section), *ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ*.
 201. v. 6.
 202. v. 6. 7.
 203. v. 7.
 204. v. 8.
 205. v. 13. Here occurs a phrase which is very significant for the Christology of Hippolytus. In explanation of the remarkable expression of Daniel, "the Old of the days," Hippolytus observes:—*Παλαιὸν μὲν οὖν ἡμερῶν οὐχ ἕτερον λέγει ἀλλ' ἢ τὸν ἀπάντων κύριον καὶ Θεὸν καὶ δεσπότην, τὸν καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῦ Χριστοῦ (sc. δεσπότην)*. God, therefore, is named here the Lord and God and Master of all, "also of Christ himself." This is a new illustration of the sense and true reading of the difficult, but important, passage at the end of the "Refutation," which I have discussed p. 184. and note to p. 185.
 205. v. 14. (bis). Both passages are too important for the Christology of Hippolytus not to be given here textually:
Ἡ ἐξουσία αὐτοῦ ἐξουσία αἰώνιος Ἰππολύτου. Τῷ

οὖν ἰδίῳ νῖῳ ὁ πατήρ πάντα ὑποτάξας τάτε ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς, διὰ πάντων ἀπέδειξεν αὐτὸν πρωτότοκον ἐν πᾶσι γενόμενον· πρωτότοκον ἐκ Θεοῦ, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦ πατέρος υἱὸς Θεοῦ ὦν ἀποδειχθῇ πρὸ ἀγγέλων, ἵνα καὶ ἀγγέλων κύριος φανῇ· πρωτότοκον ἐκ παρθένου, ἵνα τὸν πρωτόπλαστον Ἀδάμ ἐν αὐτῷ ἀναπλάσσωσιν δειχθῇ· πρωτότοκον ἐκ νεκρῶν, ἵνα ἀπαρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀναστάσεως αὐτὸς γενηθῇ.

"Ἦτις οὐ παραλείπεται· Ἰππολύτου. Τὴν ἐξουσίαν πᾶσαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς δεδομένην τῷ νῖῳ ὑπέδειξεν, ὃς ἐπουρανίων καὶ ἐπιγείων καὶ καταχθονίων βασιλεὺς καὶ κριτὴς πάντων ἀποδέδεικται· ἐπουρανίων μὲν, ὅτι λόγος ἐκ καρδίας πρὸ πάντων γεγενημένος ἦν· ἐπιγείων δέ, ὅτι ἄνθρωπος ἐν ἀνθρώποις ἐγεννήθη, ἀναπλάσσωσιν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀδάμ· καταχθονίων δέ, ὅτι καὶ ἐν νεκροῖς κατελογίσθη, εὐαγγελιζόμενος ταῖς τῶν ἁγίων ψυχαῖς, διὰ θανάτου θάνατον νικῶν. The conclusion of the first passage, ἵνα ἀπαρχὴ τῆς ἡμετέρας ἀναστάσεως αὐτὸς γενηθῇ (that he might become the first-fruits of our resurrection), illustrates and confirms what has been said p. 276. note. The remarkable expression in the second passage, ὅτι λόγος ἐκ καρδίας πατρὸς πρὸ πάντων γεγενημένος ἦν, comes in support of what has been said in note to p. 274., to show the affinity of the concluding fragment of our text of the "Letter to Diognetus" with peculiar and favourite expressions of Hippolytus.

206. v. 18. On the glory of the second coming of Christ : *μηκέτι διὰ εἶδους ὡς ἐν ὁράσει βλεπόμενος, μήτε ἐν στύλῳ νεφέλης ἐπὶ κορυφῆς ὄρους ἀποκαλυπτόμενος* (allusions to the vision of the three disciples on Mount Tabor, or the transfiguration).
206. v. 19. On the fourth monarchy, or that of the Romans ; the corresponding passage in the book on the Antichrist is identical with this commentary.

207. v. 22. 25.

211. v. 21.

214. v. 6, 7. The second passage is interesting as to the sense Hippolytus attached to the external communion with the Church: Τοῖς γὰρ ἁγίοις φοβουμένοις αὐτὸν αὐτοῖς μόνοις ἑαυτὸν ἀποκαλύπτει· εἰ γάρ τις δοκεῖ καὶ ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ νῦν πολιτεύεσθαι, φόβον δὲ Θεοῦ μὴ ἔξει, οὐδὲν τοῦτον ὠφελεῖ ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἁγίους σύνοδος.

215. v. 12, 13. 16. On the expression τὰ ἄνω κάτω, compare "Refutation," p. 235. 25.

216. v. 18.

219. v. 1. On the great persecution of the Christians which will take place in the last days, according to the Apocalypse.

220. v. 2, 3. 7. 9. In the explanation of v. 3. Hippolytus quotes the passage of St. Matthew, xiii. 43, omitting the article before ἡλιος: Τότε οἱ δίκαιοι ἐκλάμψουσιν ὡς ἡλιος.

221. v. 11.

223. Appendix II. The fragment of the commentary of Hippolytus on the Proverbs, which we hitherto knew only in the Latin translation. (Fabric. i. p. 269.: compare the Various Readings in Gallandi.)

Part III. 75. Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰππολύτου Ῥώμης ἐκ τῆς εἰς τὴν Γένεσιν πραγματείας: taken out of Leontius, "Rerum sacrarum Liber." (See Mai, vol. vii. p. 84. col. 2.) Remarkable is the expression in the beginning of the explanation of the words: καὶ ἔπλασεν ὁ Θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς· Ἄρα μὴ κατὰ τὴν τινῶν ὑπόνοιαν τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους λέγομεν γεγονέναι, ἓνα πνευματικὸν καὶ ἓνα ψυχικὸν καὶ ἓνα χοϊκόν; οὐχ οὕτως ἔχει, ἀλλὰ περὶ ἐνὸς ἀνθρώπου ἡ πᾶσα διήγησις. This betrays the man who inquired into the most ancient heresies; we find that doctrine in the system of the Naassenes. (Refut. Hæres. p. 95. 50.) Mai,

in his note to this extract, refers to fragments of Hippolytus in a Catena published "ante hos annos," in Leipzig, which I confess to have no knowledge of.

Vol. IX. 620—720. Nicetæ catena in Lucam.

645. c. ii. v. 7.

650. v. 22.

712. c. xxiii. v. 33. Διὰ τοῦτο πυλωροὶ ᾤδοντες αὐτὸν ἔπηξαν, καὶ πύλαι χαλκαὶ καὶ μοχλοὶ σιδηροὶ συνετρίβησαν. These words remind us of the rhetorical description of Hades, in the fragment of the treatise Περὶ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς οὐσίας, which I have illustrated in the text. We find the very same passage of Hippolytus quoted in an anonymous collection of sayings of the holy fathers on the incarnation, in

Vol. VII. 14. Διὰ τοῦτο πυλωροὶ ἰδόντες σε ἔπηξαν, καὶ συνετρίβησαν πύλαι χαλκαὶ, καὶ μοχλοὶ σιδηροὶ συνεθλάσθησαν, &c. The superscription is Ἰππολύτου ἐπισκόπου Ῥώμης καὶ μάρτυρος.

In the same anonymous collection :

68. col. 2. Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰππολύτου. Ἐνέργεια φυσικὴ τῆς νοεῖας ἐστὶ ψυχῆς ἢ κατὰ φύσιν αὐτῆς αὐτοκίνητος καὶ πρώτη δύναμις, ἡγουν ὁ ἀεικίνητος λόγος φυσικῶς αὐτῆς πηγαζόμενος (perhaps: ἐξ αὐτῆς πηγαζόμενος).

134. col. 1. Taken out of Leontius, "Contra Monophysitas." Τοῦ ἁγίου Ἰππολύτου ἐκ τῶν Εὐλογιῶν τοῦ Βαλαάμ. "Ἴνα δειχθῇ τὸ συναμφοτέρον ἔχων ἐν ἑαυτῷ, τὴν τε τοῦ Θείου οὐσίαν καὶ τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων: language analogous to that in the treatise against Noetus. The passage may be out of the commentary on 4 Mos. 23. 5. 16., 24. 4.: but more probably there existed a peculiar treatise or homily on that favourite subject of ancient tradition and speculation, the prophecy of Balaam.

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